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The Georgia Historical Quarterly

Volume VI MARCH, 1922 Number 1

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN UPPER GEORGIA FROM 1850 to 1880.

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The average historical book or article devotes a disproportionate amount of space to the doings of a few prominent personages, because information about them is comparatively easy to get, while the multitudes who do the bulk of the world's work seldom get their names into print and are soon forgotten when they pass away. But it is difficult to deduce general principles from a study of only a few individuals, and it is probably for this reason that history is not regarded as one of the sciences. A real history of any country or region, however, can be truly scientific if it takes into account in one way or another the whole population, and it may be wholly impersonal. It is indeed not easy to reconstruct an impersonal history for times more than a century or two in the past, but since about the time of the American Revolution statistical material suitable for historical purposes has been available in ever increasing variety, chiefly in census reports.

The first census of the United States, taken in 1790, set the example for the whole civilized world; and the results of that and thirteen subsequent censuses, taken at ten-year intervals, are contained in over a hundred volumes, which are a vast store-house of useful information, that has never been fully or even half utilized. There were a few local censuses

of population in this country before 1790, and several states at various times since have taken censuses of varying scope midway between the federal censuses, but Georgia does not happen to be one of those states. There are indeed for Georgia, as for most other states, more or less accurate annual or biennial returns of property values, school attendance, crop yields, etc., but those are not used in this article, which essays merely to present an outline of the conditions of agriculture in the upper part of the state for a few years before and after the Civil War, as indicated by the United States census reports. The methods used, which ought to be equally applicable to any other part of the country, bring out many fundamental facts which were probably not previously known, except in a very general way.

Of course no census is absolutely accurate and complete, and persons missed by the enumerators are likely to have a poor opinion of the work; but no matter how inefficient the enumerators and clerks may be, the results for a whole state or larger area are likely to be far better than one person alone could get in many years. The charge most frequently made against the census, especially by local patriots who feel aggrieved if their home town does not seem to grow as fast as some rival town, is that of incompleteness. But ascertaining the mere number of inhabitants or hogs or cultivated acres or bales of cotton or bushels of corn is not the sole aim of a census, and even if half the people or farms were overlooked, that might not seriously affect the statistics of the percentages of whites or foreigners or illiterates, average size and value of farms, yield of crops per acre, etc.

A greater source of error perhaps is the danger of some of the census questions being misunderstood, on account of the diversity of conditions in different parts of the country and the failure of the census officials to make sufficient allowance therefor, and the ignorance of some of the inhabitants. And even if there were no trouble on that score, and all the enumerators did their work perfectly, there would still be a chance of the results being vitiated by clerical or typo-

graphical errors. But it is hardly possible that such errors should all be of the same kind or lean in the same direction, so as to increase or decrease the totals; so that when figures for several states or counties are added together the errors tend to neutralize each other. Furthermore, different sets of figures, such as the population of the same area in different decades, the number of inhabitants and number of farms, number of cows and hogs, acreage and yield of crops, etc., have to be reasonably consistent, so that serious errors are easily detected. (A few apparent errors in the figures for Georgia will be discussed farther on).

Most persons who use census statistics at all are apt to consider only one state, county or city at a time, or merely make comparisons between different political units of the same order, and thus miss many interesting facts which could be obtained by assembling the communities into groups based on similarities. Every state in the Union is so diversified that state averages for population, agriculture, etc., conceal fundamental facts and mean very little. On the other hand, to discuss every county in a large area separately, especially where they are as small and numerous as in Georgia, would be tiresome.

The geographer therefore seeks to put counties or other political divisions together into groups of convenient size, usually contiguous, which shall be as homogeneous as possible with respect to one or more fundamental characteristics, such as soil, topography, or climate. And where accurate information about the natural features of a region is wanting, for lack of opportunity to explore it thoroughly, or for any other reason, one can often be guided by the similarity of adjoining counties in density of population, percentage of negroes, amount of land in cultivation, or some other statistical feature.

When one has selected a particular region for study it may then be worth while to make comparisons between individual counties, for of course no two are exactly alike in natural features, and even if they were the people in one might be a little more progressive than in another, and that

would always show in some way in the statistics. But in so doing one would have to keep a sharp lookout for the various kinds of errors above mentioned.

Georgia, like most other states bordering on the coast from New Jersey to Alabama, can be divided into two major

Map showing geographical or agricultural divisions of Georgia. Only those north of the fall line are discussed in this article. The small areas without names in the northwestern portion are Sand and Lookout Mountains, belonging to the Cumberland Plateau, with a narrow strip of Appalachian Valley between them (in Dade County), with an outlier of the Blue Ridge along the line between Polk and Paulding Counties.

divisions of approximately equal size, the highlands and the coastal plain, and these again subdivided. The boundary between the upper and lower country is known to physiographers as the fall line, on account of its marking the head of navigation on many rivers. It passes through or near Augusta, Milledgeville, Macon and Columbus, and has most of the clay hills and hard rocks and water-powers on one side of it and most of the sandy flats and navigable streams on the other.

The natural divisions of the whole state as at present understood are shown on the accompanying map, but in this article only the upper part of the state is considered, and only the 7th to 10th U. S. censuses (1850 to 1880). It is planned to cover lower Georgia for the same period in the next article, and by that time the returns from the 14th census may be sufficiently complete so that the developments from 1890 to 1920 can be shown in a similar manner. Of course natural boundaries and political boundaries usually do not coincide, so that some counties include parts of two or more very different regions. Most such counties have been omitted from the computations, but there are so many counties wholly within each natural sub-division of upper Georgia, with one or two exceptions, that such omissions do not noticeably impair the results. The counties used will be specified for each census, so that any one who desires can verify the figures for himself, or suggest modifications of the grouping. The base-map is from a plate used in Henderson's Commonwealth of Georgia (1885), and it shows the county boundaries as they were from 1878 to 1904, the longest period in the history of the state in which there were no new counties established.

Upper Georgia has about five divisions. In the northwest corner the *Cumberland Plateau,* which extends from Pennsylvania to Alabama, is represented by Sand and Lookout Mountains, which have only a small area in this state. This is a comparatively level region, with horizontal strata of sandstone rock and rather sandy soils, standing several hundred feet above the neighboring limestone valleys. It

does not cover enough of any one county in Georgia to be worth studying statistically, and therefore will not be considered further.

The *Appalachian Valley*, which extends from New York to Alabama, over a thousand miles, passes through the north-western part of Georgia, where it covers about 3000 square miles. It is characterized by a great variety of geological formations, of Paleozoic age, with rocks ranging from sandstone and chert to shale and limestone. The first two generally make narrow ridges and the last two broad valleys, and the ridges and valleys mostly run approximately north and south. There is more limestone in this region than in any other equal area in the state, and the valley lands are quite fertile. The climate places it near the northern limit of cotton, so that in ante-bellum days there were few large cotton plantations and few negroes, especially in the northern part. The mineral resources are abundant and varied, and a considerable part of the population is engaged in mining and manufacturing.

The *Blue Ridge* or eastern mountain region extends with some interruptions from New Jersey to Alabama, covers about 2000 square miles in extreme northern Georgia, and is mountainous throughout, with some peaks nearly a mile above sea-level, steep ridges radiating from them in all directions, and valleys of varying width between the ridges. The rocks are mostly sandstone, gneiss, and mica schist (with a strip of marble in the western part), and the soils are not particularly fertile, except in the bottoms of the valleys, where the "cream" of the slopes has been accumulating for ages. The rough topography restricts cultivation to a small fraction of the area, and also interferes with communication, and some of the civilization is rather primitive. This region used to be especially noted for "moonshining," an industry which is favored by the natural conditions in three or four different ways. First, numerous wooded ravines are well supplied with the necessary water and sufficiently secluded so that stills are not easily discovered. Second, the isolation and sparsity of the population makes the natives

rather intolerant of the laws that all thickly settled communities must have for mutual protection. Third, the roads are so rough that it is sometimes more economical to market the corn crop in the shape of whisky than in the far more bulky grain. But where the valley bottoms are half a mile wide or more and provided with railroads, as about the head of the Little Tennessee River in Rabun County, there are now some large prosperous farms, with painted two-story houses, silos, automobiles, and other evidences of modern civilization. The climate is a little too cold or the growing season too short for the profitable cultivation of cotton, which is attempted in only a few spots. Negroes have always been scarce, and there are even said to be some grown people among the mountains who have never seen one of them.

The *Piedmont Region* also extends from New Jersey to Alabama, covering about 20,000 square miles in Georgia, and it is characterized by granite, gneiss, and other ancient crystalline rocks, which weather into clay, clay loam and sandy loam of medium fertility, commonly reddish in color. The topography is moderately hilly to broken, swamps are scarce, and natural ponds are unknown. The rivers are all muddy, and they flow over numerous rocky shoals which are important sources of water-power.

In Georgia, and also in South Carolina,[1] the Piedmont region can be divided lengthwise into two subdivisions of approximately equal width, differing mainly in the racial composition of the population, as was pointed out several years ago by Dr. R. P. Brooks, in the first of his papers cited on a succeeding page. In the upper division there are about twice as many whites as negroes, while in the lower the proportions are reversed; and with these differences go many social and economic differences which might escape the notice of a traveler but are brought out very strikingly by statistics. The reason for all this is not immediately obvious, for the natural environmental differences are not very marked. The upper division is of course higher than

[1] See Jour. Elisha Mitchell, Sci. Soc. 35:106-107: 1920.

the lower and therefore a little more hilly, and being at the same time farther from the equator and from the Gulf Stream it is somewhat cooler. And having a little more water-power in proportion to its area favors the development of manufacturing, which is carried on mainly by white people. The available mechanical analyses of the soils show very little difference, and we have not enough chemical analyses yet to draw any sound conclusions from, but it seems likely that the lower division is or has been the more fertile, if the percentage of improved land is a reliable index. A careful quantitative analysis of the native vegetation should throw considerable light on this point, but that has yet not been undertaken.

At any rate, the lower division, being nearer to the early settlements, a little warmer, a little more level, and perhaps more fertile, was occupied by wealthy cotton planters with many slaves early in the state's history, and negroes have been in the majority there since about 1830. In 1870 and 1880, the only years for which we have such data by counties, there were about six times as many South Carolinians as Virginians in the upper Piedmont, while in the lower their numbers were about equal. At the same time there were about twice as many North Carolinians as Virginians in the upper division and half as many in the lower. These curious differences may be correlated with soil differences, for a farmer migrating to another state is inclined to look for soils similar to what he has been accustomed to.

There is of course no sharp boundary between the upper and lower Piedmont, but on the map a dotted line has been drawn somewhat arbitrarily, through those counties in which the numbers of whites and negroes are, or have been most of the time, about equal.

As my personal acquaintance with Georgia goes back only to 1887, and my interest in agricultural geography developed much later, it is quite possible that the census figures for ante-bellum conditions have not been correctly interpreted in every case, and some erroneous conclusions may have been drawn. Corrections and criticisms will therefore be

gratefully received, and utilized if any of this material should ever be put in more permanent form. Considerable literature on the subject has been examined, and some of the more important works must be referred to here, for the benefit of readers who wish additional details or different points of view.

An excellent account of the natural features and social conditions of every county in the state, at the beginning of the period under consideration, can be found in White's Statistics of Georgia, 1849.[2]

We are now ready to take up the successive censuses and make the figures talk, as it were. That of 1840 gave the amount of each of the principal crops produced in every county in the United States in the year preceding, but no information about the number, size and value of farms or the acreage of any crop, so that it is of very little use in this connection.

The Seventh Census, of 1850, was taken under the direction of Joseph C. G. Kennedy, a Pennsylvanian, but he was succeeded in 1853 by J. D. B. DeBow, of New Orleans, an accomplished statistican, who conducted DeBow's Review,

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[2] Much the same sort of information for the end of the period, thirty years later, is given in Dr. R. H. Loughridge's report on cotton production in Georgia, in the 6th volume of the 10th Census (pp. 259-450). Much of the material in the last-named was worked over in J. T. Henderson's Commonwealth of Georgia, published by the state agricultural department in 1885.

There are two interesting articles by Rev. C. W. Howard, a resident of Northwest Georgia, in the reports of the U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture for 1866 and 1874, namely, Condition and Resources of Georgia, and Condition of Agriculture in the cotton states. An anonymous (editorial?) article on Southern agriculture, in the 1867 volume of the same series, gives a pretty good picture of agricultural conditions in Georgia and other southeastern states immediately after the Civil War.

Two scholarly papers by R. P. Brooks have been very useful in this connection, namely, A local study of the race problem: race relations in the eastern Piedmont region of Georgia (Polit. Sci. Quarterly, 26:193-221. 1911), and The agrarian revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912 (Univ. Wis. Bull. 639. 129 pp. 1914). My classmate, Dr. U. B. Phillips, has published several important papers on the economic history of the South, not restricted to Georgia, among which may be mentioned: The economic cost of slave-holding in the cotton belt (Polit. Sci. Quarterly 20:257-175. 1905); The origin and growth of the southern black belts (Am. Hist. Rev. 11:798-816. 1906); A history of transportation in the eastern cotton belt to 1860 (xv—405 pp. New York, 1908); and The decadence of the plantation system (Annals Am. Acad. Polit. & Soc. Sci., Jan., 1910).

Many additional titles bearing less directly on the subject under discussion can be found in R. P. Brooks's Preliminary bibliography of Georgia History (Univ. of Ga. Bull., vol. 10, no. 10A. 1910).

a magazine devoted to the resources of the South, from 1846 to 1871. The quarto volume containing nearly all the results of that census, published in 1853, gives among other things for each county the amount of improved and unimproved land in farms, the value of farms (meaning land, fences and buildings combined), implements and machinery, and livestock, the value of animals slaughtered in a year, the number of horses mules,[3] milch cows, work oxen, other cattle, sheep and swine and the production of various crops. The number of farms, a very important item, was not given in the quarto volume, but in the octavo Compendium, published in 1854, in which Mr. DeBow analyzed some of the returns more minutely than his predecessor did, and also made many interesting comparisons between the United States and the principal European countries.

From these data, and the population figures for the same period, the ratios given in Table 1 have been computed. Most of these are intended to show the size, value and equipment of the average farm in the four principal divisions of upper Georgia in the middle of the last century. The number of inhabitants per farm is simply the ratio of population to farms, and is of course somewhat greater than the average number of persons living on a farm, for some of the people had other occupations than farming. The number of improved acres per inhabitant may indicate several things. It is likely to be low in newly settled regions, or wherever many of the people live by hunting and fishing, as the Indians did, or by mining or lumbering; also in regions of intensive agriculture, like China, Japan, and some parts of Europe; and in manufacturing regions like southern New England, where most of the food is imported in exchange for factory products. A large number of improved acres per inhabitant means extensive agriculture, and the soil may be either so poor that it takes a good many acres to support a family, or rich as in the wheat regions of the Northwest, where foodstuffs are exported and manufactured goods imported.

[3] Mules and asses are combined in this and several subsequent censuses, but the latter are so few in number that it makes very little difference in the per farm ratios if they are ignored entirely.

A few elementary population statistics, such as density of population and percentage of negroes, are given in each table. The census did not in 1850, or at any other time, tell how many slaves were employed on farms, but the number of slaves per farm is computed on the assumption that all the slaves were on the farms, which is not very far from the truth, for the towns were few and small in those days, and there was little need of slaves in them except as domestic servants.[4]

The counties used for the 1850 statistics are as follows: Appalachian Valley:—Cass (now Bartow), Chattooga, Dade, Floyd, Gordon, Murray, Walker. Blue Ridge:—Gilmer, Rabun, Union. Upper Piedmont:—Campbell, Carroll, Cherokee, Cobb, DeKalb, Fayette, Forsyth, Franklin, Gwinnett, Habersham, Hall, Jackson, Madison, Walton. Lower Piedmont:—Baldwin, Butts, Columbia, Greene, Hancock, Harris, Jasper, Jones, Lincoln, Meriwether, Monroe, Morgan, Oglethorpe, Pike, Putnam, Taliferro, Troup, Upson, Warren, Wilkes.

A few apparent errors in the 1850 figures as published must now be pointed out. Cass County was returned as having 52,575 acres of improved farm land and only 15,591 unimproved. Perhaps these figures should be interchanged, for the other Valley counties had two or three times as much unimproved as improved land. Or it may be that the unimproved (and therefore total farm land) is much too low, for the ratio of improved land to population seems about right. Franklin returned 330,811 acres unimproved, which seems a little too high, and Oglethorpe 219,712 improved, which

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[4] In the Appalachian Valley the only towns for which we have census figures for 1850 (and those are only approximate) were Rome, with about 3000 people, and Dalton, with about 2000. In the Blue Ridge there were no incorporated places. In the upper Piedmont, Atlanta had 2572 inhabitants, and Carrollton, Decatur and Monroe each less than 1000. Athens, about on the line between upper and lower Piedmont, had 1428. In the lower Piedmont were Madison, with 3516 (estimated), Griffin, with 2320, Milledgeville 2216, Lagrange 1523, Forsyth 657, and Washington 462; while at the lower edge of the highlands were the fall-line cities of Augusta, with 11,753, Columbus, with 5942, and Macon, with 5720.

The following counties existing at that time were not used, for the reasons here given. Paulding included what is now Polk, which is mostly in the Appalachian Valley. Lumpkin was then (as now, when it is considerably smaller) about equally divided between Blue Ridge and Piedmont. Clarke, Coweta, Elbert, Heard, Henry and Newton are about on the line between upper and lower Piedmont, and therefore hardly typical of either. Bibb, Crawford, Muscogee, Richmond and Talbot, at the lower edge of the Piedmont, were partly or mostly in the coastal plain.

seems about twice too high in comparison with the population, with adjoining counties, and with the same county in 1860. (If the first digit was 1 instead of 2 it would be about right). But these errors, if they are errors, do not affect the regional averages much.

TABLE 1.

Agricultural statistics of upper Georgia, 1850.

	Appalachian Valley	Blue Ridge	Upper Piedmont	Lower Piedmont	Whole State
Inhabitants per square mile.....	20.8	*10.4*	21.5	28.2	15.6
Percent white	80.9	**97.7**	80.2	*41.8*	57.6
Percent free colored.....	0.1	*0*	0.1	0.3	0.3
Percent slaves	19.0	*2.3*	19.7	57.9	42.1
Percent illiterate—adult whites...	16.5	**38.0**	21.0	*10.8*	18.8
Percent of land improved.....	12.0	*6.1*	19.1	43.8	17.0
Inhabitants per farm.....	17.4	*10.2*	12.2	22.1	17.5
Improved acres per inhabitant....	3.7	*2.6*	5.7	9.9	7.0
Average number of acres per farm.	*212*	258	272	466	441
Average improved acres per farm..	64	*38*	70	219	123
Value of land & buildings per farm	$1800	*635*	987	2675	1850
Value of implements & machinery.	74	*31*	67	160	114
Value of live-stock per farm.....	369	*218*	296	673	498
Number of slaves per farm.....	3.3	*0.3*	2.4	12.8	7.4
Number of horses per farm.....	2.9	*1.9*	2.4	3.7	2.9
Number of mules per farm.....	0.8	*0.2*	0.4	2.0	1.1
Number of work oxen per farm..	1.4	*0.7*	1.2	2.0	1.4
Number of milch cows per farm..	3.8	*2.8*	3.1	5.2	6.5
Number of other cattle per farm..	7.1	5.4	*5.2*	11.4	13.3
Number of sheep per farm.....	9.2	8.9	*7.8*	12.7	10.8
Number of swine per farm.....	38.0	29.0	*26.6*	49.7	41.9
Value of animals slaughtered p. f..	$ 98	*59*	83	167	122
Bales of cotton produced per farm.	1.8	*0*	2.5	18.9	9.6
Bushels of corn produced per farm	641	*312*	416	815	581

In each table there is one column of figures for each of the four regions discussed and another for the whole state. The highest number in each line is printed in heavy type and the lowest in italics, to show at a glance which region leads and which brings up the rear in any particular. Where one of the extremes falls in the last column it of course means that some region in South Georgia varies still more in the direction indicated. And where either italics or the heavy number is wanting, two or more regions rank so nearly equal that it is impossible to decide between them.

It can be readily seen from the table that the lower Piedmont region led in nearly everything except the percentage of whites, while the Blue Ridge represented the opposite extreme, and the Valley was between the upper and lower Piedmont in many particulars. The average lower Piedmont farm was a plantation with about ten white people (presumably representing the families of the owner and the overseer) and a dozen slaves, and seven or eight work animals, probably meaning five or six plows. As there were nearly ten acres of improved land for every man, woman and child, and the soil was up to the average in fertility, the people, both white and black, must have been in pretty comfortable circumstances; and this agrees with available contemporary testimony. In size and value of farms this region was above the average for the whole United States. Of course some of the plantations were far above the average and many below, but the census of 1850 throws no light on such variations, as later ones do.

In like manner one can draw a very different statistical picture of the Blue Ridge mountaineers. In that region there were only 2.6 improved acres per inhabitant, but a considerable part of the subsistence of the population must have been derived from wild game, and from cattle and hogs ranging the unfenced mountain-sides. The percentage of illiteracy there was over three times as high as among the whites of the lower Piedmont (and the same is true today).

Every region then had more horses than mules, and about twice as many hogs as people, but that state of affairs did not last much longer in some parts, probably largely because mules are not raised on free range as many horses are or were, and the free range was rapidly diminishing with the extension of farms.

Commercial fertilizers were then practically unknown, and the southern agricultural papers of that period are full of complaints about the exhaustion of the soil. In White's Statistics (1849) we find the following illuminating comments on the soils of various Piedmont counties. Baldwin, "Lands generally much worn;" Clarke, "One-third worn out;" Colum-

bia, "Injured by imprudent cultivation;" Elbert, "Impoverished by bad cultivation;" Greene, "Much worn-out land;" Jones, "Soil much worn," Morgan, "Much waste, but being restored;" Putnam (same as Elbert); Troup, "Some much worn;" Wilkes, "Has suffered much from injudicious cultivation." In some sections at least this condition seems to have been met by getting more slaves and cultivating more acres to offset the diminishing yield per acre, but a more usual procedure was the abandonment of old fields and the clearing of new ones from the forests (a common practice in the tropics today).

The Eighth Census, of 1860, was directed again by J. C. G. Kennedy. The results were not published until the midst of the Civil War (the agricultural volume in 1864), but that does not seem to have materially affected their accuracy and completeness, and the fact that the southeastern states were then out of the Union is barely mentioned.

That census did not give the number of farms in each county directly, but divided them into several size groups, which must be added together to get the totals. And in the case of states (except Nevada) the totals thus obtained are always less than those given in another table in the same volume. For Georgia the discrepancy is between 53,897 as compared with 62,003. This was nowhere explained, but may be due to the omission from the size classification of all farms having less than three acres improved, which might be either cattle-ranches or small market-gardens. It should be borne in mind ,therefore, that in this way the size and value of the average farm in 1860 is unavoidably exaggerated about 15%, if farm meant the same thing then as at other censuses.

An interesting table in the 8th Census volume on agriculture gives the number of slave-holders in each county in the South, classified as to whether they owned 1, 2, 3, 4 (etc.) slaves. This enables us to compare the number of slaveholders with the number of farms, and also to plot the gradations of wealth, which are indicated in another way by

the farm size classification. The other returns are of much the same sort as in 1850.

Before 1860 Catoosa, Polk and Whitfield had been added to the list of Valley counties, and Paulding shifted to its present place in the upper Piedmont. New counties in the Blue Ridge were Fannin, Pickens and Towns, and there have been no further changes in county boundaries in the two northernmost regions to this day, unless some minor readjustments. Dawson and White had been carved out of Lumpkin, but that did not help the statistician much, for both are partly in the mountains and partly in the Piedmont, like their parent. New counties for the upper Piedmont are Banks, Clayton, Fulton, Haralson, Hart and Milton (besides Paulding, explained above), and for the lower, Spalding. Most of the coastal plain portion of Talbot had been used in the formation of Taylor, so that Talbot now appears in the Piedmont column. About the same time Warren had been made smaller and more homogeneous by carving the new county of Glascock out of its coastal plain portion.

The principal cities and towns in upper Georgia in 1860 were as follows:—In the Valley, Rome with 4010 inhabitants. In the upper Piedmont, Atlanta, with 9554, and Marietta, with 2680. Between upper and lower Piedmont, Athens 2848, Newnan 2546. In the lower Piedmont, Milledgeville 2480, Eatonton 2009. Along the fall line, Augusta 12,493, Columbus 9621, Macon 8247.

The only apparent error that needs to be mentioned is that the unimproved land in Rabun County was returned as 125,106 acres, which seems too high, as it is about nine times the improved land instead of five as in the other counties.

TABLE 2.

Agricultural statistics of upper Georgia, 1860.

	Appalachian Valley	Blue Ridge	Upper Piedmont	Lower Piedmont	Whole State
Inhabitants per square mile	26.4	*13.8*	26.1	28.0	18.0
Percent white	74.9	96.3	78.3	*38.4*	56.0
Percent free colored	0.1	*0.1*	0.2	0.3	0.3
Percent slaves	25.0	*3.6*	21.5	61.3	43.7
Percent of land improved	21.5	*8.8*	23.2	45.1	21.5
Number of inhabitants per farm	18.2	*12.5*	14.7	24.7	19.6
Improved acres per inhabitant	5.3	*4.0*	5.7	10.4	7.6
Average number of acres per farm	316	296	*283*	515	430
Average improved acres per farm	95	*50*	84	256	130
Percent of farms with over 100 acres improved	31.6	*12.0*	27.8	66.5	41.7
Value of land & buildings per f'm.	$2880	*1004*	1600	3760	2535
Value of implements & machinery.	119	*44*	76	178	111
Value of live-stock per farm	630	*338*	408	935	618
Number of slaves per slave-holder.	8.6	*4.5*	6.6	13.3	11.2
Percent of holders with 10 or more slaves	28.0	*10.0*	20.5	41.8	33.8
Number of slaves per farm	4.3	*0.4*	3.2	15.1	8.6
Number of horses per farm	2.8	*2.0*	2.1	2.9	2.1
Number of mules per farm	1.4	*0.5*	0.9	3.1	1.6
Number of work oxen per farm	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.9	*1.2*
Number of milch cows per farm	3.3	3.0	3.0	5.6	4.8
Number of other cattle per farm	6.4	5.0	*4.6*	11.5	10.2
Number of sheep per farm	8.5	10.4	*7.3*	9.8	8.3
Number of swine per farm	31.4	27.2	*20.0*	45.3	32.9
Value of animals slaughtered per farm ($)	180	*97*	123	291	203
Value of animals slaughtered per squire mile ($)	261	*106*	218	329	186
Bales of Cotton (1859) per farm	4.6	*0.1*	3.4	22.7	13.0
Bales of cotton (1859) per sq. m.	6.6	*0.1*	6.1	25.7	12.0
Bushels of corn (1859) per farm	682	392	*388*	744	571
Bushels of corn (1859) per sq. m.	987	*432*	688	840	528

The differences between the several regions were much the same in 1860 as in 1850, but in the intervening decade farming developed rapidly, not only in upper Georgia but throughout the South, and there is no telling what heights might have been reached if the Civil War had been postponed a few decades. The population (particularly of whites) and number of farms indeed decreased a trifle in the lower Piedmont, but that probably merely indicated a rising standard of living on the part of the planters, so that they required more land to support them in the finer style to which they were becoming accustomed. The amount of improved land increased in every region, especially the first, which had not been thrown open to settlers until after 1830, and was therefore still not far from the frontier stage. The average size of farms increased also, more than enough to compensate for the unexplained discrepancy in numbers above mentioned.

The apparent value per farm jumped up still more, but that seems to have been largely the result of a rise in prices all over the United States, following the discovery of gold in California in 1848. (Price curves constructed by economists do not show much difference in the purchasing power of the dollar between 1850 and 1860, strange to say, but the average value of farms rose decidedly in every state except California).

The average value of slaves, of all ages, in Georgia in 1860 was about $900 per head, according to Phillips, so that slaves must have constituted more than half of the average planter's capital.

The lower Piedmont region had more slave-holders than farms, which means that practically every farmer there, as well as some of the town people, owned one or more slaves, while in the other regions not more than half the farmers could have had any slaves at all. The number of white persons per farm remained about the same as in 1850, ranging from about nine to fourteen in different regions. Mules now outnumbered horses a little in the lower Piedmont, but not yet in the other regions. Hogs were now less than twice

as numerous as people in most of the regions, and sheep were declining also, doubtless on account of the dwindling free range, and perhaps also on account of the increase of dogs with increase of population.

The raising of cotton was on a boom, and the production per farm increased in every region, though perhaps not much in the lower Piedmont if we had the correct number of farms. In the whole state the acreage of improved land increased about 26% and the production of cotton over 40% during the decade. Corn meanwhile remained about at a standstill.

The Ninth Census, of 1870, was directed by Gen. Francis A. Walker, of Massachusetts, one of the ablest demographers this country has ever produced, but he worked under considerable difficulties. The method of enumeration was still governed by the census law of 1850, which the country had outgrown in several particulars. Worse still, so short a time had elapsed since the Civil War that conditions were rather unsettled in the South. It is commonly believed that the enumeration of 1870 was incomplete for the southern states, this conclusion being based chiefly on the fact that the census of 1880 showed a large apparent increase in some regions that had had little or no immigration in the decade, particularly in South Carolina. Soon after the taking of the Tenth Census there were charges of "padding," and a special investigation made in South Carolina revealed quite a number of persons who claimed to have been living in the same communities in 1870 and not counted then.

In one of the volumes of the Eleventh Census (Vol. 1, p. xii) an attempt was made to estimate the true population of the 13 southeasternmost states in 1870 on the assumption that the rate of increase between 1860 and 1870 was the same as between 1870 and 1880, as it was in the North, and this estimate increased the 1870 figure for whites by about 11% and for negroes about 12%. But the assumption of equal increase in the two decades is faulty, for even if not a man had been killed in the war on either side the South would have felt the strain more than the North, on account of a larger proportion of the population being engaged in it, and

the final defeat and reconstruction period. So perhaps the 9th Census was as near complete as most of the others; and anyway, incompleteness would not necessarily affect the ratios showing average farm conditions.

Another possible source of error in 1870 is the unknown number of negro farmers. Before the war they were negligible, but after emancipation of course the freedmen gradually became farm proprietors (though not necessarily owners). General Walker said of this:

"The plantations of the old slave states are squatted all over by the former slaves, who hold small portions of the soil, often very loosely determined as to extent, under almost all varieties of tenure. . . . . Efforts were made to impose something like a rule which should govern in the returns of agriculture at the South; but after a weary and unprofitable struggle the Superintendent was fain to accept whatever could be obtained in regard to the agriculture of that region, without greatly criticising the form in which it came." [5]

This sounds rather hopeless; but nevertheless it seems very probably that in upper Gergia at least there were very few negroes owning, managing or renting farms in 1870. At that time the freedmen were nearly all (92% of those over 10 in Georgia, and probably 95% of the adults) still illiterate, and hardly capable of managing their own affairs; and most of the planters were trying to continue the old plantation system as nearly as possible, substituting hired labor for slaves. And in the mountain region there were very few negroes anyway, so that comparisons between 1860 and 1870 there ought to be fair enough. So if we assume that in 1870 all the farms in Georgia were owned and managed by white men, and that none were overlooked by the census enumerators, we will perhaps be not more than ten percent in error.

In 1870 the values were reported in paper currency, which was worth only 80% as much as gold, or in other words, gold was at a premium of 25%, and the currency inflated that

[5] Compendium 9th Census, p. 692.

much. And the gold itself was probably cheaper in 1870 than in 1860, so that prices for the two periods are not closely comparable. After making allowance for all this, however, a great slump in farm values, due to the war, is still evident. The amount of improved land increased a little in the mountains, but fell off in the other regions, especially the lower Piedmont, which was the most prosperous before. The number of farms increased everywhere, but they were all smaller, and worth only about half as much per acre as before the war. The census did not give separate figures for the value of farm land until 1900, but Rev. C. W. Howard, in the first of his articles cited on a preceding page, stated that the average value of land in Georgia, according to the Comptroller's report, was $4.85 in 1860 and $3.42 in 1866, and still going down; though in his second article, written about 1874, he observed that land values had nearly returned to the 1860 figures. There was a considerable decline in all sorts of live-stock, especially hogs, which were now fewer than people, except in the mountains.

In making comparisons between 1860 and 1870 there are no new counties to be taken into consideration anywhere in Georgia, fortunately. The larger cities had increased in population faster than the rural districts, as usual (and this tendency seems to be more pronounced in war times, as we have all observed lately), and that put the upper Piedmont region ahead of the lower in density of population, a lead which it has maintained ever since. But several of the smaller towns lost population during the decade, if the enumeration was equally accurate both times.[6]

The agricultural returns were a little more complete than before, woodland now being separated from other unimproved land on farms, and the annual value of farm products and the amount of wages paid being given. The only apparent errors noticed are that the ratio between woodland

[6] The principal cities and towns in the Valley were Rome, with 2748 inhabitants, Cartersville, with 2232, Dalton 1809, and Adairsville 603. In the upper Piedmont Atlanta had 21,789, Marietta 1888, and Jonesboro 531. Between upper and lower Piedmont were Athens, with 4251, Newnan 1917, and Covington 1121. In the lower Piedmont, Griffin, 3421, Milledgeville 2750, LaGrange 2053, Washington 1506, Madison 1389, Eatonton 1240. The fall-line cities stood as follows: Augusta 15,389, Macon 10,810, Columbus 7401.

and other unimproved land varies too much in different counties, probably because this new inquiry was often misunderstood; the value of land and buildings in Habersham and Hart Counties seems too low; the value of animals slaughtered seems much too low in many counties; and the cotton production of Pickens County is returned as 14,739 bales, a figure which is probably about a thousand times too high, and may belong to some other county (possibly Pickens County, Alabama).

TABLE 3.

Agricultural statistics of upper Georgia, 1870.

	Appalachian Valley	Blue Ridge	Upper Piedmont	Lower Piedmont	Whole State
Inhabitants per square mile.....	26.9	*14.7*	29.9	28.6	20.2
Percent white	77.4	97.3	74.4	*39.0*	53.9
Percent colored	22.6	*2.7*	25.6	61.0	46.1
Percent of land improved.....	21.4	*9.9*	18.2	27.8	18.2
Number of inhabitants per farm..	16.2	*7.0*	13.9	21.1	17.0
Improved acres per inhabitant....	5.1	4.3	*3.9*	6.2	5.8
Average number of acres per farm.	261	*150*	186	361	339
Average improved acres per farm..	83	*29*	55	131	98
Value of land & buildings per farm	$2022	*350*	885	1810	1355
Value of implements & machinery.	80	*12*	43	81	66
Value of live-stock per farm.....	397	*176*	274	545	431
Number of horses per farm.....	1.5	*0.8*	1.0	1.4	1.2
Number of mules per farm.....	1.0	*0.3*	0.7	1.9	1.3
Number of work oxen per farm...	*0.7*	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.8
Number of milch cows per farm..	2.3	1.9	1.9	3.0	3.3
Number of other cattle per farm..	3.0	2.4	2.4	4.7	5.9
Number of sheep per farm.....	6.1	6.8	4.9	*3.4*	6.0
Number of swine per farm.....	13.9	10.9	*9.6*	12.9	14.2
Value of animals slaughtered per farm.....	119	*59*	83	118	98
Value of all products per farm...	860	*307*	656	1694	1150
Wages paid, including board, per farm.....	188	*10*	110	510	283
Bales of cotton per farm.....	1.8	?	1.8	11.8	6.8
Bushels of corn per farm.....	282	253	*209*	290	253

This census still finds the lower Piedmont region leading the state in most particulars, but not quite as many as before the war. The yield per acre of both cotton and corn was very low.

The Tenth Census (1880) was in charge of General Walker again, but under a new census law framed by him, which made it the most satisfactory census ever taken up to that time, and in some respects it has not been surpassed since. For the first time farms were classified according to tenure, orchards and pastures were separated from other improved land, and the number of chickens and other poultry, the expenditures for fertilizers in the preceding year, and the acreage of the principal crops were given. Several of these innovations are taken advantage of in Table 4. But combining orchards and pastures (which indeed can hardly be separated in New England, where General Walker lived) is absurd in Georgia, so that all improved land is here lumped together, as before. The definition of improved land adopted at this time was that "tilled, including fallow and grass rotation (whether pasture or meadow)," and "permanent meadows, permanent pastures, orchards, and vineyards."

A backward step taken at this census was classifying farm sizes according to total acreage, instead of by improved acreage as in 1860 and 1870. For a considerable part of almost every farm in a wooded region consists of forest, which does not differ in any important particular from the forests outside of the farms. But in the present paper no use is made of the farm size classification in 1880.

It is also unfortunate that General Walker, with all his originality, did not think of publishing separate statistics for white and negro farmers. But a northern man could hardly have been expected to appreciate the great differences in standards of living between the two races, and no such distinction was made until 1900, and then only to a limited extent. By 1880 doubtless many negroes in Georgia were operating farms, as tenants if not owners (the illiteracy percentage for that race had come down to 81.6),

so that the per farm ratios in Table 4 do not mean much, except in the mountains where negroes are scarce.

Between 1870 and 1880 there were four new counties created in upper Georgia, namely Douglas, in the upper Piedmont, Oconee and Rockdale, between upper and lower (and therefore not used), and McDuffie, in the lower Piedmont. Most of the cities and towns were growing, as usual, especially Atlanta.[7]

Under the head of errors there is an easily detected typographical one in the number of farms in Columbia County in the tenure table (which can be checked by comparison with another table, and adding other figures in the same table). The pasture areas seem unreliable in many cases, for reasons above given, but they are not used here. The areas of counties were given for the first time, but are so obviously inaccurate in some cases that they have been ignored, and the same information taken from later censuses instead.

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[7] In the Valley, Rome had 3877 inhabitants, Dalton 2516, Cartersville 2037, and Cedartown 843. In the upper Piedmont, Atlanta 37,409, Marietta 2227, Gainesville 1919, Roswell 1180. Between upper and lower Piedmont, Athens 6099, Newnan 2006, Covington 1415, Conyers 1374, Elberton 927. In the lower Piedmont, Milledgeville 3800, Griffin 3620, LaGrange 2295, Washington 2199, Madison 1974, West Point 1972, Barnesville 1962, Greensboro 1961, Eatonton 1371, Forsyth 1105, Warrenton 1022, Talbotton 1008. Fall line cities, Augusta 21,891, Macon 12,749, Columbus 10,123.

TABLE 4.

Agricultural statistics of upper Georgia, 1879-80

	Appalachian Valley	Blue Ridge	Upper Piedmont	Lower Piedmont	Whole State
Inhabitants per square mile.....	34.3	*18.9*	43.6	36.5	26.3
Percent white	74.2	97.8	73.4	*36.0*	52.9
Percent colored.....	25.8	*2.2*	26.6	64.0	47.1
Percent of land improved.....	26.6	*12.4*	29.6	36.4	21.9
Number of inhabitants per farm..	10.3	*6.9*	9.6	11.1	11.1
Improved acres per inhabitant....	5.0	*4.2*	4.4	6.3	5.3
Percent of farms operated by owners	58.4	75.1	60.5	*41.7*	55.1
Percent by cash tenants (renters).	4.6	*1.2*	4.5	20.4	13.4
Percent by share tenants (croppers)	37.0	*23.7*	35.0	37.9	31.5
Average number of acres per farm.	143	175	*119*	160	188
Average improved acres per farm.	52	*29*	42	70	59
Value of land & buildings per farm	$1061	*351*	725	914	808
Value of implements & machinery.	42	*18*	32	43	38
Value of live-stock per farm.....	179	*110*	138	184	187
Number of horses per farm.....	0.9	0.7	1.0	*0.7*	0.7
Number of mules per farm.....	1.1	*0.4*	1.3	1.2	1.0
Number of work oxen per farm...	*0.2*	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.4
Number of milch cows per farm..	1.6	*1.5*	2.3	1.7	2.3
Number of other cattle per farm..	*2.1*	2.3	3.1	2.6	3.9
Number of sheep per farm.....	3.1	6.2	3.4	*1.3*	3.8
Number of swine per farm.....	9.6	11.5	11.4	*8.3*	10.6
Number of chickens per farm....	19.1	*13.3*	14.6	16.0	16.4
Number of other poultry per farm.	9.8	*4.5*	11.5	7.7	8.5
Cost of fertilizers (1879) per farm	19	*1.27*	30	40	31
Value of products (1879) per farm	423	*147*	394	591	484
Cost of fertilizers per impr. acre..	0.37	*0.04*	0.72	0.57	0.53
Value of products per impr. acre..	8.20	*5.18*	9.52	8.39	8.16
Percent of improved land in cotton	18.4	*1.5*	28.0	38.3	31.9
Percent of improved land in corn..	33.6	47.3	33.9	*26.1*	30.9
Percent of improved land in oats..	9.3	*4.3*	6.4	5.8	7.5
Percent of improved land in wheat	16.2	14.6	10.9	*5.4*	5.8
Bales of cotton per acre.....	0.43	0.33	0.40	*0.30*	0.31
Bushels of corn per acre.....	14.2	13.8	12.6	*7.9*	9.2
Bushels of oats per acre.....	8.1	*6.5*	8.0	10.1	9.0
Bushels of wheat per acre.....	6.9	*4.7*	7.0	7.2	6.7

By 1880 the amount of improved land had recovered, and passed the 1860 figures, except in the lower Piedmont region. Commercial fertilizers, just coming into general use, must have made it profitable to cultivate again some of the exhausted old fields.

There were more owners than tenants in the three regions where white farmers are in the majority, and vice versa, for fairly obvious reason. It is interesting to note that share tenants (croppers) are eight to twenty times as numerous as cash tenants (renters) in the first three regions and less than twice as numerous in the fourth. This is explained by Dr. Brooks in his "Agrarian revolution in Georgia" by the fact that where negro farmers are in the minority they are much more likely to work under the immediate supervision of white men than where the proportions are reversed.

The low values and number of animals per farm are probably due to the inclusion of some negro farmers in the averages, except in the Blue Ridge, where some other explanation must be sought. Mules now outnumber horses, except in the mountains, oxen are going out of style or at least getting scarce, sheep likewise, and hogs are barely holding their own.

On the face of the returns the most progressive farming in 1879-80, judging from the expenditures for fertilizers and the value of products per acre, was in the upper Piedmont region. But there is good reason to believe that the white farmers of the lower Piedmont, probably mostly the sons of the ante-bellum planters and overseers, or in many cases the same men, were still maintaining their supremacy. This can be tested when we come to the statistics of later censuses, where the races are separated.

ADDENDUM. An interesting feature of the Tenth Census cotton production report cited on page 11 is that information about soils and agricultural practices was furnished by one or more of the leading farmers in each county, including several who afterwards took a prominent part in public affairs, such as Prof. (now Chancellor) David C. Barrow, Leonidas F. Livingston, A. H. McLaws, J. B. Norman, W. J Northen, W. L. Peek, and C. J. Welborn.

THE CODE NAPOLEON

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The law is neither a trade, nor a solemn jugglery, but a science. It is founded on great philosophical bases, although that part of it which receives its sanction from legislative assemblies not infrequently confuses, if it does not confound, some fundamental principle of civilization which should govern man in his relation to his fellowmen. There exists and ever has existed among lawyers, publicists, and philosophers a controversy over the propriety and the beneficent consequences of the reduction of the law into a single body of law or code. One conception of the origin of law rests on the theoretic assumption of a social contract supposed to have been entered into by men in a state of nature. Another conception is that law emanates only from a supreme civil power commanding what is right and prohibiting that which is wrong. Still another conception is that all law is of divine origin, whether derived from nature or ordained by God as revealed in the Holy Scriptures. But all schools of thought concur in the idea that the law should be so expressed as to be most easily within the grasp and comprehension of the people intended to be controlled and governed by it. The law should never be, as the edicts of Caligula, hung upon high pillars beyond the power of the people to read and to know; nor be buried in the labyrinths of hidden mystery resulting from its formulation and development in individual instances.

About two centuries before the codification of the French law, there was a sharp controversy between the heads of the English equity and law courts—Bacon and Coke—as to the best form of judicial expression of reported cases. The scholarly logician of the Chancery Court advocated the

enunciation of the controlling principle in the form of maxims, to be applied in the decision of subsequent cases. The great Chief Justice of the Law Court was of the opinion that each case was *sui generis* and that only confusion could result from the application of a maxim or series of maxims, each of which could not extend to all the multiform features of the particular case. One great advantage of the code is that it furnishes something like a standard of authority where none exists.

The most celebrated code before the Code Napoleon is the Code of Justinian. This code largely furnished the material of the Code Napoleon, and a passing reference to it is justifiable. In the early years of his reign, Justinian commissioned Tribonian, the ablest lawyer of his time, with the assistance of Theophilus, a professor in the law school of Constantinople, and Dorotheus, a professor in the law school of Berythus, and other associates, to codify the Roman civil law. They undertook to do this by collecting the imperial constitutions of the Roman emperors, remodelled so as to eliminate confusion, contradiction, repetition and disorder. Supplementary to this work, the authoritative commentaries of the jurists were harmonized and published under the title of Pendects or Digests. Based on the foregoing, the commission evolved a systematic treatise on the whole body of law in elementary form for the guidance of students and lawyers, which was put forth under the title of "Institutes." These books were followed by the "Novels" or new laws, and the whole constitutes what is known as the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian. The Roman law as thus expressed was the best and noblest development of the Roman civilization. It had a long contest, extending over a thousand years, with the forces of barbarism. It survived the blind brutality of the Middle Ages and now dominates the greater part of the civilized world.

About twelve centuries after the great work of Justinian was given the sanction of law by imperial edict, the Code Napoleon was promulgated. It was on March 31, 1804, that the French Civil Code was declared to be the law of France.

On September 3, 1807, it received the official title of the Code Napoleon. After Napoleon's downfall a law was passed restoring the original name, but a decree of March 27, 1852, reestablished the title of Code Napoleon. It goes now under the name of the French Civil Code.

Perhaps the inducing cause for the preparation of the Code Napoleon was established an authoritative body of law, and to remove all uncertainties as to legal doctrines. The great revolutions of France which preceded Napoleon's accession to power had overthrown many of the ancient conceptions of law; had rejected many of the royal ordinances and had advanced individualism to a dangerous eminence. The severities of the law of the old regime had been alleviated in certain provinces by exceptions to general laws and the recognition of binding local customs and usages. The law of France was in great confusion. The old regime had attempted to prepare a comprehensive plan of law based on the results of the labors of Tribonian, and had collected and adjusted some of the material. The two first assemblies of the Revolution addressed themselves to the task of unifying the law, but were able to prepare only a few fragments of it. There existed when the great Corsican became first consul a vast juridical literature, expository of the common customary law of France and many discordant decrees and statutes, naturally resulting from the disturbed political conditions. This condition of affairs quite justified Voltaire's sarcasm that a traveler in France had to change laws about as often as he changed horses. The want of a tribunal whose decisions might be received as of authority throughout France, had been a principal cause of the retention of those diversities in local customs, which had formerly regulated the different territorial divisions of the country. The National Convention undertook the removal of the cause of these uncertainties of doctrine, by the establishment of the Court of Cassation for the review of the judgments of the Court of Appeal of all the several departments. But this court had been in existence a little over ten years when Napoleon appointed his code commissioners,

and besides, the remedy of correcting these evils by judicial decision was inadequate.

Very soon after his accession to power as First Consul, Napoleon appointed a commission, or council of state, to prepare a code of laws for the French Empire. In communicating to the commissioners notice of their appointment, the Minister of Justice informed them that the First Consul desired that the work should be performed in the promptest possible manner. The arrangement of titles was soon settled by adopting the plan of the Institutes of Justinian in the general divisions of the code. The subject titles were (1) Of Persons, (2) Of Property and of different kinds of ownership, and (3) Of the different ways of acquiring property. Following this general arrangement, the preliminary draught of the Civil Code was made in four months. This draught, in the main, was an adoption of the text of the Roman law, or its approved glosses, except where the old local jurisprudence was adhered to. By this judicious plan the commissioners were enabled to complete the preliminary draught within such a short period. The draught was next submitted to the local courts of appeal of each of the departments, then one hundred or more in number. These tribunals reported freely their objections, proposed amendments and made suggestions. The draught was also submitted to the Court of Cassation, who also revised it and reported in detail their views. Afterwards, the original draught of the commissioners, with all these reports, passed under the revision of the section of legislation of the Council of State, composed of the President of the Court of Cassation and seven other eminent jurists. The whole matter then was brought before the Council of State, where each title was either passed as reported or amended by a majority vote. The Council of State was presided over by Napoleon, or during his absence, by Consul Cambaceres. Thirty members participated in the discussions. Napoleon personally engaged in many of them. His intervention in the discussion was usually upon questions in which directly or indirectly some political interest was more or less concerned.

He gave his reasons for his opinions; they were cogent, and, according to report, expressed with clearness and precision.

The form of the law having been thus determined, it was transmitted from the Council of State to the Tribunate, where it was again the subject of consideration and discussion. The views of the Tribunate were then reported to the Council of State, who passed on such amendments as the Tribunate had suggested. After the proposed law had been thus again passed upon in the Council of State, it was presented to the legislative chamber. Before this final state of the business, "the motives" of each of the proposed laws had been set forth in pamphlet form by "orators of the government." After four years of discussion, the different acts were consolidated into a single body of laws. The code as thus expressed was a fusion of customary laws, of royal ordinances, and laws of the Revolution, and of the vital principles of Roman private law expressed with remarkable clearness and brevity. So dominant are the principles of the Roman law that the peculiar French element is not even characteristic of the work.

Never was Napoleon's triumph more complete than in his code of law. The laurels of Marengo withered long ago and the sun that blazed in glory upon Austerlitz forever set on the fatal field of Waterloo. Exiled upon a lonely island, he had the satisfaction of feeling that though he was sheared of political empire the combined world could not shake off his empire of law.

The influence of the Code Napoleon has been very great not only in France but also abroad. Belgium was living under it, when the ruthless successor of Attilla laid his desolating arms upon that prosperous country. The Dutch, Italian and Portugese codes have taken it for a model. The Spanish code and the codes of Central and South America are virtual reproductions of it. It has had a potent influence on the boasted common law of England, and many of the principles of the English common law have been restated in consonance with some of its great postulates of natural equity. In our own country, the laws of the State of Louis-

iana are but its reflection and the great state of California has incorporated much of it in its system of jurisprudence. When Japan suddenly burst the cerements of its ancient feudalism and copied enthusiastically the political institutions of England and America, she repudiated the English common law and turned to the Code Napoleon for guidance and direction in the formulation of her system of jurisprudence. With the exception of the United States and England, the Code Napoleon, with more or less qualification on account of local circumstances, practically governs the civilized world.

It is especially noteworthy for its simplicity and clearness of statement. It has been the subject of heated controversies, but its adoption in Central and Southern Europe, in Central and South America, is irrefutable evidence of its great merit.

The Code Napoleon solved the problem of prescribing the law in those cases not expressly covered by its provisions, by requiring the judges to give decision on all cases whether contemplated or not by the Code and referring them generally to the following sources: (1) "Equite naturelle, loi naturelle, (2) Roman law, (3) Ancient customs, (4) Usages, examples, decisions and jurisprudence, (5) Droit common, (6) Maxims, doctrines and science. The Code has produced a number of commentaries, which has developed a system of equitable extension of its basic principles to conditions not expressly provided for. In this way the Code undertakes to meet every question that may arise in the complexities of modern civilization.

An excellent literal translation of the original edition of the Code Napoleon was made by a barrister of the Inner Temple, London, and may be found in the State library. It contains 2281 sections and in bulk it is about three-fourths of the size of one of our Georgia Reports. I was particularly struck with the amount of space given to the matter of divorce under the title "Of Persons," and to the subject of "Contracts of Marriage" under the title of "Modes of Acquiring Property." The Code Napoleon recognized divorce by mutual consent. This was only allowable where

the marriage relation had continued for two years and where the husband was over twenty-five years and the wife was between twenty-one and forty-five years. The provision for a consentient divorce is guarded with many restrictions. It was under these provisions that the great Emperor divorced his childless wife in order to contract a second marriage in the hope to establish a dynasty.

In the course of my reading I have examined essays and books in which the motive of Napoleon in causing the Code to be prepared was brought in question. One prominent writer attributes the inducing cause for the preparation of this monumental work to the vanity of the First Consul. The emperors Justinian and Theodosius had promulgated codes that had perpetuated their glory and names. These codes had been followed by the Prussian Code, which bore the name of the great Frederick, whom alone of modern strategists, Napoleon regarded as entitled to bear a comparison with himself. But the prevalent opinion is that the First Consul foresaw the necessity of providing a stable state when war should cease and his prodigious mind appreciated that such a result could only be secured by laws certain in statement, equitable and just in their scope, and impartial in their execution. The Emperor's motive is rather to be found in the latter concept, because when an exile at St. Helena he declared that the best monument which he had erected for himself was the promulgation of the Code Napoleon.

HOWELL COBB PAPERS

Edited by
R. P. BROOKS, Ph.D.
University of Georgia

PHILIP CLAYTON TO HOWELL COBB

Navy Department, Second Auditor's Office,
Washington, D. C., March 7, 1853.

Dear Howell:

Your letter of the 1st, post marked the second was received this morning and permit me first of all to express my warmest thanks for your kind offers in my behalf. My friends assure me that I will not be removed & if Gen Pierce [is] true to his inaugural I cannot be. When Gen. Scott was nominated by the Baltimore Convention I took my position. I wrote to Jones[1] a letter for publication, urging him to place the Union party of Georgia in the front ranks by nominating a Pierce & King ticket, but he would not do it. I differed with my friends about the Webster Movement, & always thought that I was right & time would demonstrate it. The inaugural shows who was right. The Union party could not have elected one of their own men who could have so completely programmed their doctrines. Stevens & Toombs & Dawson[2] swear by the inaugural & say if Pierce carries out these principles they will sustain his administration. But the errors of the past can only be atoned for by profiting by them & avading similar ones in the future. I consider the inaugural address is the most complete triumph to the Union party that has ever yet fallen to their lot, & while some of our friends will no doubt think it strange that Dobbin & Davis two fire-eaters should hold places in the Cabinet, I conceive that even their acceptance

[1] Probably the editor of the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle and Sentinel.

[2] W. C. Dawson, Whig member of Congress from Ga., 1836-1841; U. S. Senator, 1849-1855; presided over the Memphis Convention of 1853.

enhances the Union victory. It is said they were first notified with the programme of the inaugural & their acceptance now is considered a complete surrender. My impression is that Gen. Pierce tendered them appointments in his Cabinet under the impression that they would not accept, & at the same time test their sincerity as to their willingness to be again reconciled to the National Democratic party. Thus far we have the principles & the fire-eaters the offices, & in all probability both have triumphed in what they were contending for. Things will work well. We shall be united at the South & the Union men will have the confidence of the people. My own impression is that Gen. Pierce has committed but one error, & that no doubt has been brought about by over estimating the high-toned chivalry of the Southern fire-eaters.He has made them submit to the principles of the Union Party. I think he should have given the Union men a personal triumph in appointing you as one of his Cabinet. Though it is questionable whether the humiliation of your adversary is not a keener gratification in political controversies than the elevation of your friend. His neglect to appoint you was unjust to the Union party South & North. Ross of Pa. & Fuller of Maine were devoted friends to you. It is said that old Cass was tendered the right to select a man & he chose McLelland—Buchanan selected Campbell. Marcy I think was an original selection. Dobbin was recommended by the electoral college of N. Carolina. Guthrie I have no doubt was selected on account of his talents & his being a strong Union man in the late controversy. Davis was the selection of the fire-eaters generally. Cushing I think was the personal friend of Pierce. Upon the whole I think it is a pretty good Cabinet with the principles of the inaugural at the mast-head.

The time has not come to know the operating causes in the appointments. I will learn them after a while, & will keep you advised. Buchanan will go to England & a foreign mission will in all probability be given Dix. The reason for which is this, that he has been more in the way of the Hunker Democrats than any other man in New York, his

influence resulting from the purity of his character in private life, besides he desires to get loose from the free soilers. Pierce has evidently commenced right in his principles, his appointments are objectionable to some, but they will waive all objections if he proves true to his inaugural. The Union men have not only his endorsement that the Compromise measures were constitutional, but conceived in the same spirit that actuated the fathers of the Republic. Not only *that* he brings up some of the leaders of those who denounced the Compromise as unconstitutional, & unjust, and makes them swear that they were wrong & we were right. Could a triumph be more complete?

WM. H. HULL[1] TO THE EDITOR OF THE CONSTITUTIONALIST[2]

—— 1853.

To the Editor of the Constitutionalist:

Your paper of the 16th contains an editorial on "The Next Governor", on which I desire to offer some comments. To the general tone and spirit of the article, I can give my full approbation. So far as you urge a hearty union of all who are Democrats in sentiment in support of the truly Democratic, National, and unionloving—administration—which I confidently look forward to under Pierce, I sympathize with you and cheer you on in the good work. Nor shall I stop to quarrel with you for your implied exclusion from your good graces of those who last fall supported what you think proper to call the "Tugalo Ticket."

As one of those who advocated that ticket I have no apologies to make nor recantation to offer. I considered the ticket called "Democratic" to have been put in the field

[1] William Hope Hull, of Athens, Ga., close personal friend and former law partner of Cobb's.

[2] This communication was reproduced in the Chronicle and Sentinel, April 6, 1853, with the following introduction: "As a part of the history of the times, we publish the following letter defining Gov. Cobb's position in the late presidential canvass. The intimate personal and political relations between Mr. Hull and the Governor, justify the impression that his statements are entirely correct."

irregularly, and improperly, and to have been nominated at the time and under the circumstances that it was, for the express purpose of offending the Union Democrats, and kept up as standing insult and degradation to them. Such being my views, although I had no concern whatever in getting up the "Tugalo Ticket", and if I had been consulted, would have advised against it, as exposing us to certain defeat, and as placing us in a false position in the eyes of Democrats in other States, who did not know of the facts, yet when it was brought out, and the race had to be run, I had no difficulty in choosing my position. At the same time, I never blamed those Union Democrats who taking a different view of the question of feeling which was involved, determined on a different course.

I should not have deemed the position of [a] single individual in private life, like myself, worthy of so many words, were it not that I believe what I have said expresses the feelings of many, if not most of those Union Democrats whom you nickname Tugalos. We acted then on our feelings perhaps more than our judgment, but we ask for no sympathy or forgiveness. We now support in good faith the administration of General Pierce, and shall co-operate with all who do likewise, nor shall we stop to enquire whether we are regarded by other gentlemen of the party with cordiality or otherwise.

But my object in writing is not to discuss these matters, but to disabuse your mind and those of your readers, as to the position of Gov. Cobb in that matter. Your article gives me the opportunity of doing [for] Gov. Cobb, what his magnanimity has prevented his doing for himself. I write without his knowledge, and possible what he would not permit if he knew it. But it is due to truth and justice that his position should be known. The writer of this, professes to be as well informed as any other man, as to the opinions, sentiments and views of Gov. Cobb, and I affirm that which I know, when I say, that the ticket which was put up after the Atlanta meeting was brought out *against his wishes and advise, and against his earnest efforts to prevent it.*

I know that he wrote urgent letters to Judge James Jackson at Carnesville, where Gen. Wofford was during Court, pressing upon him to see Gen. Wofford, and endeavor by every argument to induce him to decline running on that ticket, and to accept the place on the regular ticket, which he was then advised would be tendered to him. So far from his "Sympathy and secret efforts", being for the "Tugalo Ticket", he disapproved of the movement from the first to last, and his friends knew it.

It is true that Gov. Cobb was in favor at Atlanta, of a different course from the one pursued. From the day when the Union electoral ticket was nominated at Milledgeville, he had labored to bring about a compromise of the ticket on terms which could secure cordiality, and harmony among all the friends of Pierce and King.

The Atlanta meeting was called at his suggestion, and for the purpose of promoting that object. Before it assembled it had become obvious that our proposals of compromise would not be responded to. Gov. Cobb proposed in that case to nominate a ticket composed of those gentlemen of the other ticket who had evinced a willingness to arrange the matter, and to fill up the other places with the names of Union Democrats, and call on the whole Democracy of the State to rebuke by their votes the spirit of proscription and persecution, which had been manifested by some of our Southern Rights brethren. This was his whole course in the matter. The Atlanta meeting decided differently, and in their decision Gov. Cobb acquiesced and gave, as I before said, no encouragement whatever to those who did not.

It is asked why he did not publicly announce that disapprobation? It would have been politic in him to do so, but the noble and generous heart of Howell Cobb shrunk from striking a blow that would wound his friends, even though he thought them in the wrong. The list of names advocating the movement included many who were his best and nearest friends. They had stood by him through storm and sunshine, and though his sense of duty prevented his aiding them, he was not the man to lift his hand against

them. He has patiently borne all the vituperation and obloquy which has been heaped upon him on that account, and still bears it.

The time has come—now when the election is over—now when the new Administration is fully formed, and the suspicion of seeking Cabinet offices can no longer be aroused in the minds of the most uncharitable, that his friends owe it to him to make his true position known. Gov. Cobb now stands prepared to sustain the great Democratic party to which he has always belonged and fights as a private in the ranks for the imperishable principles of Jefferson, Jackson and Polk, and which he hopes and believes will derive additional strength and lustre from the Administration of Franklin Pierce.

THOS. MORRIS TO HOWELL COBB[1]

Carnesville, Ga., March 7, 1853.

Dear sir:

The proper course of political action to be pursued by that portion of the democracy with whom you and I are identified, is the subject of some discussion in this part of the state. Some are in favor of adhering to or reviving the Union organization of 1850 and 1851. Others believe that the issues on which the party was organized have passed away, and that the existence of such a party is no longer practicable or desirable, and that the National Democratic party is our true place.

The confidence which our people have for many years reposed in you, and which gives to your opinions great weight on all such questions, induces me to believe that a letter from you giving your views on the matters alluded to would be acceptable and useful. I shall be glad if you would favor me with such an expression of your opinions, to be published.

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[1] This letter was printed in the Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel, April 11, 1853.

HOWELL COBB TO THOS MORRIS[1]

Milledgeville, Georgia, March 21st, 1853.

Dear sir:—

As Union Democrats, we are called upon to choose between the re-union of the Democratic party, and the reorganization of the Union party. Having fully expressed myself favorably to the first proposition I will give the reasons which have influenced my own decision, and which I think should control the course of every Union man who intends to identify himself with the National Democratic party.

The Democratic party of Georgia was disorganized by the divisions in its ranks on the Compromise measures of 1850. That portion of the party with which I acted regarded those measures as conformable to the principles of the National Democracy—violative of no Constiutional right of the south, and an infliction of no grievous wrong. The other wing of the party holding a different opinion, the party was dissolved, and new organizations sprang up in the place of the Democratic and Whig parties of the state. The issue was made and submitted to the people of Georgia, and by them decided; and that decision solemnly reaffirmed. The same issue was presented to the Democracy of the Union, and, when assembled at Baltimore to nominate their candidates for President and Vice President, the position of the National democracy upon the Compromise was clearly, distinctly, and unequivocally announced. With that declaration all Union men were perfectly satisfied—in truth it was all that they could desire. The Presidential canvass was conducted upon it; General Pierce did not hesitate to respond in the most cordial terms of approval of this patriotic declaration of the National democracy. He was elected by an overwhelming majority of the electoral votes and upon entering upon his responsible duties, has paid another tribute to the "wisdom and patriotism," which carried the country safely through that "perilous crisis" which gave birth to the Compromise measures. He has called around him a cabinet of able

[1] This letter was printed in the Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel, April 11, 1853.

and patriotic men, who stand as a unit in his counsels, and to whom, as I am informed, his inaugural address was submitted for approval prior to their acceptance of seats in his cabinet.

Under these circumstances ought any Union Democrat—indeed any Union man, whether whig or democrat—to hesitate in giving to the present administration his confidence and support? To proceed one step further; ought any such man hesitate in cordially affiliating with the National democratic party? I think not. Both the President and the party who elected him have commended themselves to our confidence and regard, by the course of policy they have adopted upon this important question, and I hold that it is not only our privilege but our duty to give to both our cordial and unconditional support. Should either prove unworthy of it, of which I have no fears, it will be time enough then to consider "of the mode and measure of redress." The question then presents itself, how is this support to be given most efficiently to the administration and the democratic party? It seems to me that there can be but one answer to the inquiry. It is by a cordial co-operation in the democratic party of all who are prepared to stand upon the platform of principles announced by the Baltimore Convention, endorsed by the people in the recent election, and reaffirmed by General Pierce, with the concurrence of his cabinet, in his inaugural address. Upon this basis it is proposed to re-unite the Democratic party. As a Union democrat it meets my cordial approval, and shall receive my warm support. I have not reviewed the position of the other wing of the party. On the contrary I shall avoid it, having no disposition to reopen the points of division that led to our separation. My object is simply to state our own present and past course, to show that in the policy now proposed we are acting in conformity to the requirements of duty and principle. It is sufficient for me to know that the Democratic party of the State can now be re-united upon the terms which I have suggested; and I shall not stop to inquire by what route others have traveled to arrive at the same point with myself. However

much we have differed in the past, we are now agreed upon the essential points of our political faith, and being so agreed we should strive to effect a thorough and cordial co-operation in the support and maintenance of our common principles. To this line of policy I have heard but two objections which have been urged with any earnestness, and I avail myself of the opportunity to offer a brief reply to each of them. The first is that there exists a radical difference of opinion between the two wings of the party on the doctrine of "secession." I admit that such is the fact, in reference to individual members, but I doubt much as to the extent of this difference with the great body of the party; but let the fact stand admitted in its broadest sense, for the sake of argument. I would inquire of those who make this objection, if the same thing has not been true of the party for the last twenty years, at least? Is it not a familiar fact that whilst the Jackson democrats held the doctrine as laid down by that venerated patriot in his message to Congress and his proclamation to South Carolina; the Calhoun democrats at the same time contended for the right of seccession as advocated by their distinguished leader—the followers of each have maintained the faith of their respective leaders, and will in all probability continue to do so. This difference of opinion, however, upon an abstract question, did not prevent the union and cooperation of both sections, in all the essential doctrines of the democratic party, upon which there existed no diversity of opinion. With a full knowledge of those differences, they continued to act together in the same party, leaving the abstract question of "secession" to the judgment of the individual members of the party, neither making the affirmation or denial of that doctrine a test of party faith. I see no reason for departing from the rule then acted upon. It will be time enough to make "secession" a cause for division when it is sought to make the recognition of it a test of party loyalty, or when there shall arise a party who may threaten its practical enforcement. The first of these contingencies is not at present proposed from any quarter, and

whenever a crisis shall demand the latter, in the judgment of the people, I do not apprehend that we shall stop to discuss the abstract question, if we are agreed upon the more important point of the necessity and propriety of its enforcement. If, however, we should not be thus agreed, as was the case in our recent contest, there will be no more difficulty in the future than there has been in the past, in meeting and successfully resisting its recognition and enforcement. This objection, therefore, presents to my mind no serious impediment in the way of reunion of the democratic party in our State.

The only remaining objection which seems to demand attention, is founded upon the idea that there exists among southern rights men of such deep personal hostility to Union democrats as to preclude the probability of our receiving justice at their hands. It is urged that their opposition being of a personal and malignant character will not cease with the re-union, but will be continued and felt in the future operations of the party. It is a sufficient reply to their objection to say, that it is an argument addressed *to our fears* and not to our judgment—as such it shall be discarded without further thought; but it is also founded in error as to our supposed weakness in the party. If no other consideration should cause our rights to be respected, we may safely calculate upon the homage always paid to power, carrying as we do into the re-united party all the elements of strength which make up the aggregate, the power and influence of a party. In looking, however, to the re-union of the party, I do not apprehend such a state of things as this objection foreshadows, and perhaps I shall have as much personal cause of apprehension upon this point as any other Union democrat. It is true that the angry and violent contests of the last two years have embittered the feelings and aroused the passions of many towards each other, who will now be thrown again into the same party associations; but time and reflection will prove successful restoratives of good feeling where interest and policy fail to accomplish it. With weak minds and bad hearts the process will be less

rapid, but in the end, not less certain. It will be found that those who indulge in this spirit of hostility are few in numbers, and powerless in influence. The good sense and good feeling of the great body of the party will invoke a better spirit, and lead to wiser and purer counsels. The danger to the future union and harmony of the party from that quarter, I feel assured, is over-estimated by those who regard it as an insuperable obstacle in the way of a cordial reunion of the democratic party.

I am opposed to the reorganization of the Union party, however, because it is unnecessaray. An important crisis in our national affairs called that party into existence. I participated in its organization, and during its existence took an active interest in all its operations, and can now look back with pleasure and satisfaction to its successful career. It was, in my judgment, a patriotic organization, demanded by a peculiar state of our political affairs, and having faithfully discharged its office, has passed away with the causes which led to its formation. It lived to see the triumph of its principles, and ceased to exist when its longer continuance was equally impracticable and unnecessary.

To revive and maintain the Union party as a sectional organization would be violative of the great principle of nationality upon which it was founded. On the other hand, to attempt its continuance as a national organization, is delusive, as it wuold stand isolated from all national party association. In the history of the dissolution of the Union party, we find conclusive evidence that it cannot maintain a national organization. It will be remembered that the Democratic Convention at Baltimore nominated candidates and adopted a platform entirely acceptable as to the Union party; our own State Convention assembled and determined to support the democratic nominees, and put forward an electoral ticket for that purpose. A large and respectable portion of the whig wing of the party, who admitted that the democratic nominees and the platform were satisfactory, and at the same time repudiated the whig nominee as unsound and unworthy of their support, withdrew from the

party preferring to throw away their votes on a nominal candidate [instead] of affiliating wtih the National Democratic party, notwithstanding that party had presented them with a platform of principles and nominees, pledged to the maintenance of their Union doctrines.[1] I allude to this action in no spirit of complaint, recognizing, as I do, the perfect right of those gentlemen to pursue the line of policy which they adopted; my object is simply to show that the elements composing the Union organization of Georgia are incapable of being moulded into one and the same National organization. The democratic portion of the party is not only prepared for but determined upon affiiliation with the National Democracy, whilst a large portion of the whig wing is equally determined against such affiliation, as is clearly exhibited by the course pursued by their respective portions in the late Presidential election. President Pierce and the democratic party have no stronger claims upon the whig support now, than during the canvass; for all that has been done since the election has only been in confirmation of their previous declarations. In that view of the case it is a manifest proposition to my mind, that the Union party of Georgia, if re-organized, could only maintain a fitful existence as a State or sectional party, and would be dissolved at the first approach of a national election.

Apart from these considerations, I regard the re-organization of the Union party as unnecessary for the purpose indicated, of giving its support to the present administration. If the whole people of Georgia are prepared to sustain Gen. Pierce's administration, I can see no good reason why it cannot be done as efficiently under Democratic as a Union organization. Why can we not all unite i nthe democratic party? If we are all agreed upon the principles to which Gen. Pierce and the Democratic party stand pledged, there can be no sound objection to our union and co-operation in the name of the Democratic party. I should be happy, indeed, to believe that such was the condition of the public

[1] The reference is to Toombs and Stephens, who in refusing to support Pierce and King, killed the Union organization, of which they with Cobb, had been the leading members.

mind of our State—as it would give our people a respite from the angry contests of political parties, and enable them to appropriate more of their time and energy to the development of our State's almost endless resources—but I must be pardoned the expression of a serious doubt upon this point, and shall be agreeably disappointed if the future should convict me of incredulity. I entertain no doubt that a large number of our citizens, who have heretofore acted with the party, will be prepared to unite with the democratic party, as the most efficient mode of sustaining an administration which they have aided in bringing into power, and which possesses their confidence and regard.

All who feel willing and ready to affiliate with the national democracy, can have no controlling objection to this course, and those who are not prepared to go to this extent thereby exhibit a distrust of the democratic party and its chosen administration, which render their and our future co-operation in the same organization, impracticable.

I have now given you with perfect candor my reasons for advocating the re-union of the democratic party of our State. I believe that it will be affected upon terms "fair, just and honorable," and that it will eventuate in the success and permanent triumph of the national democratic principles. If this important result is accomplished, it will be a matter of small moment what may be the effect upon mere personal aspirations whether of one or the other wing of the party.

HOWELL COBB TO GOVERNOR CAMPBELL OF TENNESSEE.

Executive Department,[1]
Milledgeville, 23d June, 1853.

Dear Sir:

Some time since I issued my warrant for the arrest of a free negro, by the name of Charles Covey, in compliance with a requisition from your Excellency.

[1] Executive Letter Book, 1847, p. 407.

The enclosed communications create a strong presumption, that the froms of Law have been prostituted to a gross outrage, and feeling that, if true, it constitutes a violation of the laws of your State, I have determined to bring the subject to your notice for such action as you may deem proper in the case.

It is of much importance to the slave holding States that this constitutional provision should not be trifled with, and it is peculiarly our interest to guard against the commission of such acts, as are here alledged to have been committed. In the view which I have taken of the subject, I hold, that the State upon which the demand is made is bound to regard the application of the Executive of the other States as conductive of all the facts alledged in the requisition. If this is the correct view of the question, it is important that the State making the demand should see to it that its forms are not used for unauthorized and illegitimate purposes.

GEO. W. JONES TO HOWELL COBB.

New York, Aug. 28, 1853.

Dear Gov[ernor]:

I called this morning to see you and to urge you to accept of and even to ask the President to confer upon you the appt. of minister to France. I ask this not only because of the exalted opinion which I entertain for you myself, but also because I believe your appointment would be hailed with peculiar satisfaction by the people of the U. S., and democracy of the North West in particular and by none more sincerely than by my colleagues, Hon. A. C. Dodge and B. Heron as well as by Gov. Dodge of Wisconsin, each of whom I know anxiously desired as I did to see you fill a place in the Cabinet of Prest. Pierce before it was formed.

In conversation with the President the other day he expressed to me an exalted opinion of you and would, I have no doubt, make you Minister Pleno. to France if he thought

you desired it. I beg you, therefore, to mention the subject to him and to forward or present this letter from his and your friend.

JOHN T. GRANT TO HOWELL COBB.

Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 28, 1853.

Dear Howell:

I am now on my way to Mississippi, if the Yellow fever does not scare me back. In that event I shall be found in Milledgeville doing all I can in my humble sphere for you. I regret that my business in Miss. is such that I cannot well postpone the visit until after the election.

I exacted of Warren a positive promise before I left him yesterday that he would go to Milledgeville. Say nothing to him about what I wrote you in relation to his expenses. Warren has heard from a Lumpkin man that Riley is for you. He has also heard that the Cherokee delegations are also for you. I think there will be no doubt about our members. I. H. Arnold and several other S[outhern] R[ights] men from our County also advocate your election. Gardiner's article I think is having a good effect and I think the skies are brightening. This at least seems to be the opinion of all with whom I have conversed. Lucius Lamar[1] is for Chappell. He says Chappell wants the place, but if he finds the demonstration in your favor he will not make the fight. Reynolds of Newton is not so strong an anti-Cobb man as he was two weeks ago. He says there are other democrats he would prefer, but if the contest should be between you and Tumlin,[2] he will do all he can for you. I endeavored to get Hillyer to write to some of the members of his district, but his election is secure and he is perfectly easy. I wrote that Bleckley[3] was for you. I did not hear him say so, but

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[1] L. Q. C. Lamar, of Covington, Ga. Later he removed to Mississippi. Secretary of Interior in Cleveland's cabinet; associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

[2] Col. Lewis Tumlin, a Union Democrat of Cartersville, Ga.

[3] Logan E. Bleckley, a Southern Rights Democrat; later chief justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia.

was told by Rutherford and Genl. Sanford that there was no doubt about it. I should have known with certainty what his position is but for his absence tonight.

Hoping that when I meet you again it will be as Senator Cobb, I am,

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JNO. MILLEDGE[1] to HOWELL COBB

Nov. 1st, 1853.

My dear Howell:

My mind has been in such a state of anxiety in regard to your election that I cannot help writing you again. I have almost determined to be at Milledgeville, and see what the party are going to do. Never will such an effort be made to defeat any one as yourself, and if the Democrats allow it to be done, we may from this time henceforth in Geo. hang up our fiddle in the willows, and clothe ourselves in sackcloth, our enemies will have triumphed, because to beat you now is their *last card.* If they succeed, the game is theirs. It does seem to me, that in view of everything both here & elsewhere, present & future, the sensible men of the party should be on the ground and raise their voices against the course some of our men are pursuing. I understand that the Whigs intend voting for Warner & with his friends elect him. How is this, Warner[2] is *the* man we will have to contend against & he will be used by our enemies. The other candidates can be controlled I think. The sentiment is general here for you and our hopes for future success depend on it. I would rather not see you run than to be beaten. We are great in an emergency. Now is the time my dear fellow to test your powers and to achieve a victory over our enemies that will be worth every other one of your whole life. It is the pivot of your future distinction—gain this and I think all will be easy in the coming struggles. About what time will this election take place. What are your views? But I must go up. Write me if I can get a decent room.

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[1] Jno. Milledge, a strong supporter of Cobb in the organization of the Constitutional Union Party of 1850.

[2] Hiram Warner, born in Massachusetts 1802. Came to Georgia about 1819 as a school teacher; later admitted to the bar; justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia, 1845-1853; member of Congress, 1855-1857; a Southern Rights Democrat.

HOWELL COBB TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA.[1]

Executive Department,
Milledgeville, 8th Nov., 1853.

Fellow Citizens,
of the Senate and House of Representatives:

In discharge of my constitutional duty, I proceed to lay before you such matters as should receive your attention during the present session of the General Assembly.

On the twentieth day of October 1851, the public debt amounted to $1,687,472.22. By the act of December 4th, 1851, ratifying the contract of my predecessor and the Chief Engineer of the Western & Atlantic RailRoad, for the purchase of iron for the State Road, it was increased $200,000. By act of January 12th, 1852, providing for the repairs and equipment of said Road, it was still further increased the sum of $525,000—and by the act authorizing a subscription to the Milledgeville and Gordon Rail Road, there was added the sum of $20,000, making the total amount of the State debt $2,432,472.22. To this amount should be added the bonded debt of the Central Bank, which is now $369,500; having been diminished by the payment of $5,500, since the 1st November 1851. The total liability of the State is thus seen to be $2,801,972.22, from which must be deducted the sum of $164,500, which has been paid during the past two years, under the provisions of the act of February 11th, 1850, providing for an annual Sinking Fund for the payment of the public debt. The present debt of the State therefore is $2,635,472.22.

The bonds authorized by the act of 4th December, 1851, were made payable at the State Treasury, and the interest payable semi-annually at the Bank of the State of Georgia in Savannah. These bonds were negotiated for a premium

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[1] The practice in Georgia was for the governor at the end of his administration to lay before the General Assembly an account of his stewardship and suggestions as to legislation. The message here given is the only one of any considerable importance during Cobb's administration. It is reprinted from a pamphlet among the Irwin papers.

averaging about two per cent. I was satisfied that our bonds should command a higher premium, and finding upon an investigation of the subject, that a more advantageous negotiation could be effected, by making them payable in New York,—I caused the bonds issued under act of January 12th, 1852, to be made payable at the Bank of the Republic in the city of New York. They were negotiated at a premium of 5 per cent. It is the first instance in which our State securities had been disposed of at any premium, and it should be gratifying to our State pride to know, that the bonds of our State now stand among the first securities of their class The bonds of no State in the Union command more of the confidence of capitalists who seek a safe investment of their funds. This confidence is not misplaced, for no State in the Union has more ample means to meet its liabilities, and no people are more tenacious of the credit and honor of their State, than our own.

As the interest of a portion of our bonds has to be paid in New York, it becomes necessary for the Treasurer to keep on deposit there, a sufficient sum of money to meet the interest as it falls due. This has been done under my direction. If any doubts exist as to the power or propriety of this course—it would be advisable that all such doubts should be quieted by passing a law authorizing such deposits to be made. The necessity of it is so obvious that I deem it unnecessary to present any argument in support of the recommendation.

I refer you to the accompanying report of the Treasurer, in which will be found a tabular statement of the public debt, showing at what time each portion of it will fall due. From this statement you will find that a very large portion of our debt will become due about the same time. This matter should receive the attention of yourselves as well as your successors, in order that by a course of wise and judicious legislation, the payment of our bonds may be anticipated, otherwise we should be called upon to make very large payments, within a very short period, which would lead either to burdensome taxation, or an extension of time for the eventual liquidation of our liabilities. Both results can and

ought to be avoided. In the present prosperous condition of our State affairs, there will be no difficulty in creating a Sinking Fund, which will entirely discharge the public debt, before it shall have fallen due. There should be additional legislation of this subject, giving to the Executive full power and discretion to appropriate the surplus means of the Treasury to the purchase of our bonds under such limitations as your judgment may deem advisable. The present law leaves the question in some doubt, whether or not the legislature intended any premiums should be paid by the State in the purchase of bonds not yet due. Such however is the present high character of our State securities with all classes of capitalists, that it is impossible to obtain them at par. As long as individuals are willing to pay a premium for these bonds, so long will the State also be compelled to pay a premium for such as she may wish to redeem in advance. I have thought it advisable to make the purchase at a small premium, to the amount required by law to be annually redeemed. There is no other safe investment of a Sinking Fund, and as a matter of economy it is better to pay the premium, than to allow the money to remain undisposed of in the Treasury, tempting the Legislature either to unnecessary and wasteful expenditures or to an unwise reduction of taxes. I call your attention particularly to this subject, that such laws may be passed as will carry out the public will in reference to it.

THE CENTRAL BANK.

By the act of December 10, 1851, I was authorized to transfer the assets of the Central Bank to the Treasury, when in my discretion the interests of the State should require it. Believing that there was no longer any necessity for continuing that institution in existence, for any other purpose than to wind up and close its business, I appointed the commission authorized by the foregoing act, to investigate the condition of the Bank, and transfer its remaining assets to the Treasury. I herewith transmit their report from which it will be seen what was the condition of the

Bank at that time. The accompanying report of the Treasurer will exhibit its present condition, as well as its operations since it has been transferred into his hands. There are yet outstanding many debts, some of which will be collected, but from the larger portion nothing will ever be realized by the State, and it becomes a matter for your consideration, what disposition shall be made of its remaining and unavailable assets, and also what provision shall be made for meeting and discharging its liabilities. Upon a careful examination of the affairs of the Bank, I am satisfied, that after exhausting all its resources, there will be left the amount of $369,500, which must be paid from the Treasury. It is for this reason that I have placed the bonds of the Bank in the computation of the public debt, which I have already submitted to you. I would recommend that the Executive be authorized to take up these bonds, and issue regular State bonds in their stead, provided satisfactory arrangements can be made with the present holders of them. In addition to this amount it will be necessary for you to provide by law for the payment of about the sum of $20,000. This amount has been borrowed by the Treasurer, under my direction, to meet the accruing interest on the Central Bank bonds, the funds of the Bank falling short by that amount. This step was necessary to save the credit of the State, as these bonds are regarded in public estimation as a part of the public debt, and if we had failed to have paid this interest promptly, the effect would have been to have depreciated the general credit of the State.

It is useless to encumber the Treasury longer with the remaining assets of the Central Bank, which will continue worthless and unavailable as long as they remain the property of the State. I know of no better disposition that could be made of them than by selling them for whatever they would bring. To keep them and attempt their collection, would involve the State in continued expense and litigation, without any remunerating benefit.

THE TREASURY.

The accompanying report of the Treasurer will give you a clear and satisfactory account of the operations of that Department during the past two years. You will observe that this report is complicated with a useless statement of unavailable assets of the Treasury. These stereotyped items have been repeated from time to time, without the slightest benefit to the State, throwing no light upon the condition of the Treasury, and leading to no possible beneficial result. As long however as no action is had by your body on the subject, it will be necessary for the Treasurer to encumber his report with them. I recommend therefore that you take such steps as will relieve the department from the necessity of further reference to these worthless assets by directing them to be destroyed under the direction of the Executive or a committee of your body. The report of the Treasurer shows the available balance in the Treasury on the 20th October 1853, to be $74,857.35. Concurring as I do, in the estimates contained in his report of the probable expenditures of the next two years, I deem it unnecessary to add anything on that subject.

There has been collected from the General Government during the past two years, the sum of $144,890.53. These claims have been long standing, and the State is now indebted for the collection of so large a portion of them, of the energy and ability with which they have been urged by the agent appointed by my predecessor, and continued by myself, Joseph Sturgis, Esq. There is yet unsettled claims due to us from the General Government, but I am unable to say, at what time you may expect their payment. It would be unwise to calculate upon the reception of any portion of it, in your legislation upon the Finances of the State. For additional information you are referred to the accompanying report of Mr. Sturgis.

I herewith transmit to the General Assembly, the report of the Financial Committee for the year 1852, and call your attention to its statements and recommendations as worthy

of consideration. The Report of the Comptroller General is also herewith transmitted.

THE TAX LAW.

It was provided by the tax act of January 9th, 1852, and the supplementary act of January 21, 1852, that the sum of three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars should be raised under those acts for the support of the government for each of the political years of 1852 and 1853. In the first act the rate of taxation was limited to one twelfth of one per cent. The supplementary act was passed under a well founded apprehension that the required amount would not be realized at that rate. This last act required the Governor with the assistance of the Comptroller General to consolidate the returns of the various tax receivers, and authorize them to fix the rate of taxation at such per cent as would raise the sum of three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. Upon the examination of the tax digest as required, by this law, it was ascertained that it would require a tax of one tenth of one per cent, to raise the amount which the Legislature had fixed upon; and accordingly the necessary orders were issued to that effect. This was true of the returns for each of those years, and there was consequently no change in the rate of taxation for the present year. The passage of those acts introduced a new system of taxation in our State. The ad valorem principle was for the first time incorporated into our laws, though its justice and propriety had long been seen and felt by our people. For many years the friends of a fair and equitable system of taxation had sought to modify the old law, which was admitted to be unjust in its operation and indefensible in principle. Every candid and fair minded man recognized the correctness of the principle that every citizen should be required to pay for the support of his government, according to the extent and value of his property. Upon that principle an ad valorem tax should be based, and when faithfully carried out, must command the approval and support of every man who is willing to bear his due portion of the bur-

den of Government. That the present tax law fully comes up to this standard, I am not prepared to say. The object of its framers was, however, to approximate it, and if they failed to reach it, the duty is imposed upon their successors of applying the lights of experience and practical operations to its modification and improvement. It is not strange that an untried experiment, should be found to be defective in some of its details; it is rather a matter of surprise that more obvious and glaring mistakes should not have occurred in the first effort, to adopt a new, radically differing from the old system. I am aware of the fact that there exists in the public mind, in some portion of the State, very strong prejudices against this law, but I am well satisfied that these prejudices are not so deeply rooted, as to defy the approach of reason and sound sense. In most instances it will be found that this opposition is limited to some provisions of the law, which may with propriety be modified and improved, and for that reason your attention should be directed to such modifications as will make it conform more exactly to the ad valorem principle. Let the details of the law be scrutinized, its defects brought to light, and the proper remedy applied by wise and judicious amendments. With many persons the merits of the present law has been subjected to the test of comparing the amount of taxes paid by them under the two different systems. They find that their tax has been increased and without further inquiry they attribute that increase entirely to the change in the law. A simple statement will exhibit the incorrectness of this conclusion. The amount of taxes collected for the political year 1851, under the old system, was $291,077 38-100, whilst the amount collected for the year 1852, was $377,165 60-100. It must be borne in mind that the Legislature saw the necessity of raising an increased sum, and therefore provided in the act of 1852, that there should be raised the sum of $375,-000. If therefore, there had been no change in the system —it would have been necessary to have increased the taxs about twenty-five per cent. To compare then the operation of the two systems fairly, in individual cases, such persons

should first add twenty-five per cent to their tax as paid in 1851, and compare the amount thus ascertained with the amount which they actually paid under the present law. When this is done, it will be found that their increased tax, is owning, not to a change of the law, but to the increased necessities of the State.

Another objection has been urged to the present law, which is found in good reason and is worthy of your consideration. It results from the difficulty of ascertaining the true value of the tax payers property. Such is the peculiar organization of men's mind, that with the most honest intentions, they differ widely in their estimate of the value of property; whilst others unwilling to contribute their due portion to the support of government, place so low an estimate upon the value of their property, as to cause just ground of complaint with their more conscientious and generous neighbors. As every man is at liberty under the present law, to value his own property, he can put whatever estimate he pleases upon it. The law appeals to his conscience alone on this subject, and there is no mode provided for reaching those, who are indifferent to the obligations of truth and honor. It is gratifying to know that the number of this class is small. An examination of our tax digests will show the fact, that with the great body of our people, there has been exhibited a disposition to make a fair and just return of their property. The cases of the few, however, should be reached, and I would recommend that some provision be made by law for assessing the property of those who seek to avoid the payment of their just dues to the State, by falsely estimating their property below its true value. This and similar defects in the details of the law, should be remedied by prompt legislation. Time and experience will thereby, ultimately perfect the system, and render it acceptable to all classes and interests. The ad valorem principle being recognized by all, as being right and just, it only requires prudence, firmness and wisdom in enforcing its application, to secure for a law based upon it, the cordial approval of the people.

For the purpose of instituting a comparison of the taxes paid by our own people, with that paid by the people of the other States, I addressed a circular letter to the Executives of the several States, asking for a statement of their tax laws. To this communication, I received many replies, but not enough to carry out the original object I had in view. The information, however obtained, was sufficient to satisfy my own mind that we pay as little as the people of any other State, whilst as compared with some of the States, our tax is almost nominal. As low as our present taxes are, we may look forward to the time when they may be greatly reduced. As soon as the Public debt shall have been extinguished, we can with propriety reduce our taxes one half, and that too, without looking to any other source of revenue for the ordinary expenses of the government. This is certainly a gratifying state of things, and will go far to conciliate the feeling of opposition that has been engendered in the public mind against the present system. Firmness in the maintainance of the ad valorem principle—wisdom in the adoption of amendments suggested by experience, and economy in the administration of the government, will soon dispel all prejudice and opposition with a wise and patriotic people.

WESTERN & ATLANTIC RAILROAD

By the act of January 15th, 1852, I was required to appoint a Superintendent of the Western & Atlantic Rail Road, who should have the general management and control of that work. I appointed Wm. M. Wadley, Esq., who entered upon the duties of his office on the first day of February, 1852. The means of the road had fallen far short of its necessities, and the result was that the Road was in a wretched condition. My predecessor and the former Chief Engineer of the road, realizing this fact had very properly purchased a large quantity of iron for its repair. The contract made by them was approved by the last Legislature by the act of Dec. 4th, 1851. When Mr. Wadley entered upon his office, he encountered all the difficulties, which this

state of things had brought about. The last Legislature, intending to provide amply for the thorough repair and equipment of the road, by the act of January 15th, 1852, appropriated the sum of $525,000, for that purpose. This sum would have been sufficient, if it could have been applied to the objects contemplated by the Legislature, but unfortunately it required much the larger portion of it to pay off the former debts of the road which had been accumulating from its first organization. We were therefore compelled to look to its revenues to do that, which it was the intention of the Legislature should have been done, with this appropriation; and this fact will account for the disappointment of those, who had calculated upon an accruing revenue to the State Treasury from the proceeds of the road. I refer you to the accompanying Report of Mr. Wadley and his successor Mr. Yonge for a more full and satisfactory statement of the facts to which I have thus briefly alluded. It is hardly necessary for me to speak of the manner in which these difficulties were met and overcome by the Superintendent. The energy and ability displayed by him are so familiar to the public, that it would be a work of supererogation to remark upon it. He did all that could be done, and I venture to add, more than any other man would have effected under the same circumstances. I need not add, that his entire management of the affairs of the road, met my cordial approval.

On the first day of February, 1853 Mr. Wadley resigned his office of Superintendent—and I appointed George Yonge, Esq., to fill his vacancy. It is due to Mr. Wadley to state that he did not leave his post until he had satisfied me, that the interests of the road would not suffer from his withdrawal. In his successor I have found an able, experienced and faithful officer, whose successful management of the road as exhibited by his report, is the best encomium that can be passed upon his services.

It affords me much pleasure to call your attention to the present condition of this great State work. The Reports of the Superintendents will show you in detail its operations

during the two past years. The failure to report any profits paid over to the State Treasurer has already been accounted for. The fact, however, that profits have been realized, and appropriated to the wants of the road, should satisfy your minds—that with wise and judicious management, it must for the future be a source of revenue to the State. No additional call is made upon the Treasury for aid. Its own revenue will soon complete the necessary repairs, and equipments, and discharge its remaining liabilities.

I call your attention to the recommendations, contained in the Superintendent's report. Founded as they are upon his experience in the management of the road—they should receive your careful consideration. The act of the last Legislature which authorized the road to be sued in any county through which it passes—ought to be modified. I can see no good reason, why this discrimination should be made against the State road. All similar companies have to be sued in the county in which their principal office is located. This is right and proper.. It is the place where their books are kept and their business transacted, and therefore the proper point for the litigation of claims against them. It is problematical whether the State should submit to being sued at all—but certainly she ought not to embarrass her officers with burdens not imposed upon other companies. The road passes through counties belonging to three judicial districts, and it might happen that the Superintendent would be sued and required to attend Court in different counties at the same time. This consideration alone shows the propriety of a change in the law. In this connection I call your attention to the fact, that suits have been commenced in the State of Tennessee. I have directed pleas to the jurisdiction of the Court to be filed in all such cases, and the question if decided against us, to be carried to the highest Court of the country. We have a right to complain of this proceeding on the part of our neighbors, as it was principally to gratify them, that the doors of our own Courts were thrown open to claimants against the State road. If the Courts should maintain their jurisdiction in the State

of Tennessee, and the road subjected to the trouble and annoyance of this litigation, it will devolve upon the Legislature to determine, what course they will adopt in reference to the Western terminus of the Road, that will most effectually put a stop to such proceedings.

The important question for your consideration in connection with this great work is, what shall be the future policy of the State in reference to it? Realizing the deep interest felt by our people in the decision of this question, I submit to you my views fully on the subject.

By some a sale of the road is proposed. I trust however, that the advocates of this policy are not numerous, and I feel certain that their number will be lessened, in proportion as you satisfy the public mind that the road can be successfully carried on, under State management. To sell the road would be to disappoint that general expectation which has so long looked to the completion of this enterprize for a source of reliable revenue to the State. The funds raised by the sale could not be appropriated to the extinguishment of the public debt, as that is not due. There is no profitable investment of it that could be made, and the result would be—that by the time, the public debt had to be met, this fund would have been exhausted in wasteful and unnecessary expenditures. Increased taxation would then be the only means of meeting the liabilities of the State. I feel confident that no argument is required against a policy which will inevitably lead to such a result The proposition to sell two thirds of the road is equally, if not more objectionable. The same consequence would follow to a great extent. Besides it is the unvarying lesson taught by our experience, that the State is the sufferer in every copartnership which she forms of this character. The road should either be under the entire control of individual interest, or under the exclusive management of the State. A departure from this rule, would certainly lead to no good result, and I trust that the experiment will not be made. Rejecting then the proposition to dispose of the road, I recur to the inquiry, what is the best policy for its future government? In the man-

agement of a railroad, two ideas should be kept prominently in view, uniformity and permanency in its system, and a responsible head to manage and control its affairs. Frequent changes, and divided responsibility are incompatible with the successful operation of any rail road. Looking to these considerations I feel conscious of the difficulties which must attend any plan which has yet been suggested for the government of the State Road, but the preference should be given to that system which is freest from these objections. The two plans which have been most generally considered, are, first, the present one which leaves the road under the control of the Executive and a Superintendent appointed by him. The other proposes to constitute a board of Commissioners and invest them with the power, now lodged in the hands of the Governor. My own mind at one time favored the latter proposition. Experience and observation, however, have fully satisfied me, that it will not do. The idea of a board of commissioners was derived from the Board of Directors, appointed by private corporations, for similar duties; and the argument drawn by analogy from this source would be good, if these Directors discharged the duties, which the public supposes them to perform; such, however, is not the fcat. The best Board of Directors for a rail road Company are those, who have sagacity and judgment enough to submit the entire management of their roads to the President and Superintendent. In adopting a general system, for the management of a road, their counsels may sometimes be heeded with some advantage; but when the detailed operations of the road are to be considered and disposed of—the least said or done by them, the better it is for the interest of their company. If a Board of Directors should attempt to revise the dealings of a President and Superintendent with their subordinates, reinstating such as had in their judgment been improperly removed, or forcing the appointment of others who they might suppose peculiarly qualified for some position, it would result in the total disorganization of the road, and the effort would soon be felt by the Stockholders in reduced profits, neglected machinery,

and dilapidated road. Upon this point I can safely appeal to the experience and observation of every man, who has been connected with a successful and well managed rail road. If this be true of private companies, the difficulties will be greatly enhanced, when the same principle is applied to a public work, when superadded to other causes of trouble and embarrassment, there is thrown in, the political and party considerations which would inevitably be connected with such a system. The subordinate officers on a rail road, who feel that they owe their places to any other cause, than a faithful discharge of duty, would soon derange and ruin the best managed road in the country. Under the proposed system of a Board of Commissioners these difficulties could scarcely be avoided, and I therefore deem it unnecessary to enlarge upon this branch of the subject. According to this plan there would also be wanting, that uniformity in the management of the road, which is essential to its success. With the change of Commissioners, the system would be changed and all the consequences attendant upon such changes, would be constantly experienced. The present system is in my judgment decidedly preferable; one great object at last is affected, a responsible head is placed in charge of the road—to whom the country can look for its proper and faithful management. The Executive elected by the people is responsible to them. The Superintendent should be appointed by, and be responsible to the Executive, the subordinate officers should be appointed by, and responsible to the Superintendent, and thus the management of the road is placed upon a system of responsibility which ensures its successful operation. In the appointment of the Superintendent, the Executive feels the responsibility which rests upon him, and will exercise a sound judgment in the selection. The Superintendent knowing that he is responsible for the good conduct of his subordinates, will exercise like prudence and discretion, in their selection and the subordinates feeling their dependence upon, and responsibility to the Superintendent, will realize the fact, that the tenure by which they hold their offices, is the faithful and efficient

discharge of duty. In this view of the subject, you will perceive that there must be a cordial and mutual confidence between the Executive and the Superintendent, and for that reason the Superintendent should be appointed by the Executive. I therefore recommend that the act of the last Legislature taking the appointment of this officer from the Governor and giving it to the Legislature, be repealed, and that the appointment be again placed at the disposal of the Executive. If the road is to be continued under State management, this in my opinion is the most practicable system that can be adopted.

Two leading objections are urged against this plan. The first is founded upon the fear that the subordinate posts on the road will be regarded and filled as political offices. Under my administration "this practice has ceased to exist." Whatever may be thought or said about making governmental offices, political positions, in other departments, it is a well settled fact that it will not answer in the management of rail roads, or similar State enterprizes. Such a policy is condemned both by reason and experience, and can never be resorted to without endangering the public interest. This truth is so clearly illustrated in the history of every State work, where the policy has been adopted, that I do not believe the experiment will again be made in our own State. The other objection is of a more serious character. It grows out of the changes in the management of the road, incident to the frequent change in the Executive office. I admit the force of his objection, and the only reply that can be offered, is founded on the fact, that the objection is applicable to every plan which has been or can be suggested for the government of the road under state management.

In view of these difficulties, I submit to your consideration, another plan, for the disposal of the road, one, which will secure the three great objects to be attained; first, the retention of the State's interest in the road; second, a uniform and permanent system for its management; and third, a certain and reliable revenue from it. It is to lease the road under an act of incorporation. Let a charter be granted

with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars in shares of a hundred dollars each. The charter should provide that the company, should make semi-annual payments to the State, and that the first failure should *ipso facto* work its forfeiture. The amount required to be paid by the company for its lease, should be at least five per cent on the capital invested by the State, which might be estimated at five millions of dollars. The charter should be for a limited time, and perhaps twenty five years would be sufficiently long. The company should be required to return the Road at the expiration of their lease in as good condition, and as well equipped as when they received it. The improvements which the increased business of the Road will require them make, would afford a reliable guaranty upon this point. On the other hand the State should agree to pay the company for any increased value given to the road by the improvements made by them. Provision should also be made in the charter, to protect connecting roads from a partial, and unjust administration of its affairs, under such penalties as would ensure perfect impartiality. I have fixed the capital of the company at a half million, supposing that to be sufficient for the ordinary improvements, which are still required to put the road in complete order. The Legislature could hereafter increase it, if the business of the road should require the laying of a double track.

In submitting this suggestion to your consideration, I have merely laid down the outline of a plan which might be perfected, if the policy recommended meets with your approval. If adopted care should be exercised in guarding the interests of the State in any charter which may be granted, and that is submitted with great confidence to your wisdom and discretion. I beg leave to repeat, that the adoption of this policy will ensure a uniform, and permanent system in the conduct, and management of this great work. It will be brought under the operation of private enterprize and individual interest without sacrificing the investment of the State. It will be relieved from the difficulties which I have shown must always more or less attend its management

under State control, and finally ensure the regular receipt into the treasury of at least two hundred and fifty housand dollars per annum.

THE PENITENTIARY.

I transmit herewith the reports of the Principal Keeper and Book Keeper of the Penitentiary, which will exhibit to you its operations during the past two years. The officers of that Institution during that time have been faithful, and energetic in the discharge of their duties, and I believe that its business under their charge, will compare favorably with the business of preceding years. Its assets at the end of the year will in all probability discharge its liabilities, and leave it free from debt. The business of the Penitentiary is not, and in my judgment never will be a source of revenue to the State. The appropriations, which have from time to time been made to meet its liabilities, show this fact. The gross amount of them is set forth in the Keeper's report. It now requires large appropriations to make the necessary improvements, and to furnish materials for its successful management. It is a subject which should secure more of the personal attention of your members, than has heretofore been the case. An inspection of its condition will give you more satisfactory information of its true wants than any representation that I can made, and I would urge the propriety of your doing so, as it can be done with very little trouble to yourselves, and much benefit to the State. As you will perceive from the Keeper's report the business of building rail road cars has been commenced upon a pretty extensive scale. The experiment so far has proven eminently successful, indeed it has been the principal source of revenue since its commencement. For the want of the necessary means, an arrangement had to be made with the State road to furnish the materials for building cars, and as long as that road requires all the cars that can be built at the Penitentiary, this arrangement could be continued. If the business, however, should be extended as recommended in the Keeper's report it will be necessary for you to supply

the necessary means for the purchase in advance of materials, as the object should then be, to manufacture cars for all roads that may desire to purchase. It would also be necessary to authorize the employment of a Superintendent of this branch of the work, at a better salary than is now allowed to the subordinate officers. If a ready sale be found for the cars, I have no hesitation in saying, that it is the most profitable business than can be carried on in the Penitentiary.

The importance of classifying the prisoners in the Penitentiary, has been so repeatedly and forcibly presented to the Legislature by my predecessors, that I deem it unnecessary to enlarge upon the subject. It is again brought to your attention by the Principal Keeper's Report, and I would impress upon your minds the propriety of giving it your early attention. When this recommendation is based upon the concurrent opinion of every one who has been thrown into official communication with the Penitentiary, it should at least receive more consideration than has heretofore been given to it.

THE LUNATIC ASYLUM.

The bi-ennial Report of the Trustees, Superintendent and Resident Physician of the Lunatic Asylum is herewith submitted. This Institution has been conducted during the past two years with the characteristic energy and ability of its officers. I commend to your attention the suggestions and recommendations contained in these reports. Founded as they are upon the experience and observation of those who have shown themselves so worthy of the confidence reposed in them by the State, they should command your most favorable consideration. This Institution was established by the State under the conviction that it was our duty to provide for the safety and comfort of that unfortunate class of our fellow beings, who had been deprived of their reason, and thereby rendered incapable of providing for themselves. This humane object will not have been accomplished, so long as there remains in the borders of our State one unfor-

tunate lunatic unprovided for. It is a melancholy and humiliating reflection, that applicants for admission are daily rejected for the want of the necessary means to provide for their accommodation. This ought not to be so. I hold it to be the solemn duty of those who have been spared from this awful calamity to furnish from their treasure whatever may be required for the support and comfort of their less fortunate fellow beings. I cannot believe that there lives in our State a single citizen, who would not give a cordial response to this sentiment. The necessities of this Institution, is therefore the only just limit to your appropriations. When you ascertain its wants, let them be supplied, your hearts will approve the act, and your constituents will sanction the vote.

There is one class of lunatics for whom no provision is made in the organization of this institution. I allude to our slave population. This omission, I have no doubt, is attributable to the fact, that the number is so limited that it has not attracted public attention. There are, however, a few; and suitable provision should be made for them. The first suggestion would be to leave this matter in the hands of the owners, after providing a place at the Asylum for their reception. This will not do, however, as it sometimes happens that the unfortunate lunatic is the only property of the owner; and he is therefore unable to support him at the Asylum. It would perhaps be wrong to tax those who have no interest in slaves, to raise money for this purpose. The amount which should be raised for this object, would be small, and if levied upon the taxable slave property, would not be felt by the owner. Looking to the number of lunatic negroes, it would require only a nominal tax upon this kind of property to raise the necessary means. I can see no good reason why every slave owner should not cheerfully submit to this tax, to carry out so desirable and praiseworthy an object. I therefore recommend that proper steps be taken at your present session to carry out these views in the manner suggested.

DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM.

The report of the Commissioners for the Deaf and Dumb Asylum for the years 1852 and 1853 is herewith transmitted. The success of this institution is a gratifying result, and should secure for it the continued patronage of the State. Your predecessors have by their liberal endowments recognized the duty of the State to provide for the education of the unfortunate mute, and it would be difficult for the Legislature to appropriate the money of the people to an object that would receive a more unqualified approval from the popular mind. I also transmit the report of a committee appointed by myself to attend the annual examination of 1852. It bears testimony to the faithful and efficient discharge of duty by the officers of the institution. Its recommendations are commended to your consideration, as worthy of attention in your legislation on this subject.

THE INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND.

I transmit to you the first annual report of the Trustees for the "Georgia Academy for the Blind." This institution was organized under an act of the last Legislature, and is now struggling through infantile existence. It has encountered the difficulties which have attended all similar institutions, and in view of these difficulties, its efforts have been attended with as much success as could have reasonably been anticipated. It has shown itself worthy of the fostering care extended to it by your predecessors, and should continue to receive your patronage and encouragement. The appeal in behalf of the blind—like that made for the deaf and dumb—addresses itself to our better feelings. The heart would be callous and hardened that could treat that appeal with indifference. Those of us who have been endowed by a kind Providence with all the attributes of manhood, unimpaired by disease or misfortune, have resting upon us an obligation in reference to our less favored brethren, which we cannot disregard. In establishing and maintaining these different institutions the people of Georgia have ex-

hibited their appreciation of this high duty. The success which has attended these efforts, should only stimulate us to renewed exertions and more liberal contributions.

GEORGIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.

At the last session of the General Assembly provision was made by law for the education of a certain number of cadets in the Military Institute, located at Marietta. A report is herewith transmitted from the Board of Visitors of that institution, which will present to the Legislature all the information on that subject in my possession. The system of military education is growing in popular favor throughout the country. In other States of the Union these Academies receive liberal endowments from the Government, and are becoming more and more the favorites of the people. So far as I am enabled to judge, the Marietta Institute has been as eminently successful as any of its sister institutions, and as deserving of State patronage.

EDUCATION.

The cause of Education numbers among its friends, no supporters, more zealous, or liberal, than the people of Georgia. It is with sincere pleasure and honest pride that we can point to the progress of education of the State. Our University was never in a more flourishing condition, and never more deserving of the confidence and patronage of the State. Other colleges have sprung up in generous rivalry with this institution under the patronage of private enterprize, affording the most extensive facilities for a liberal education to all who may be possessed of the necessary means. Colleges and Seminaries for the education of our daughters are to be found in almost every neighborhood, founded upon private munificence, and conducted with marked energy and ability. I would not unnecessarily mar this picture so grateful to our feelings and so gratifying to our State pride; but a sense of duty demands that our attention should be turned to another branch of the subject,

which presents for our consideration far different results. Whilst the minds of those, who have been blessed with the necessary means—are being stored with all the righ treasures of knowledge, placed in their reach by these flourishing institutions—there is to be found another class, less favored of Heaven, who are growing up in utter ignorance. The propriety of providing for the education of the poor is recognized by every one; but I am not sure that its importance is fully appreciated. I do not speak of the complete and finished education which can be acquired only in our higher Seminaries and Colleges, but I refer to it in its more limited sense. The man who can read and write is a well educated man, in comparison with one, to whom the Alphabet is an unmeaning mystery; and the gulf that separates these two classes is far wider and deeper than the one which lies between the humblest scholar and the most learned Professor. Give to every son and daughter of the State an opportunity of learning to read and write, and we become that day an educated people for all the practical purposes of Government. The honesty, purity, and intelligence of the people constitute the firm foundations of a republican Government. To the extent of our ability it is our duty to foster and nurture these elements of security and strength. Georgia has in some degree realized this truth and exhibited a disposition to act upon it. Her able sons have been summoned to the task of devising systems for the education of the poor; and our legislative tables groan under the accumulated reports of committees appointed to investigate and report upon the subject. All that could be done in this way has been done, and yet the sons and daughters of poverty are unprovided with the opportunity of learning to read and write. Can nothing more be effected? Is this field of labor, so inviting to the patriot and philanthropist, to be abandoned and forsaken? To answer these inquiries, we must ascertain, first, what has occasioned the failure heretofore? and secondly, are we able and willing to overcome the difficulty in the future? The first point is very clearly presented in the statement of this simple fact—the number of

children returned under our poor school law, is (38,000) thirty-eight thousand, and the money appropriated for their education is ($23,000), twenty-three thousand dollars. In other words, for the education of each child, the Legislature appropriates the sum of sixty cents. I can use no argument or language that will present in more forcible terms the main defect in our past system, than is to be found in this statement. We have failed to educate the destitute children of the State, because we have failed to appropriate a sufficient sum of money to effect the object. It is more than useless to discuss plans and systems until the necessary means are furnished to make any plan successful. This view of the subject brings me to the second inquiry. Can this difficulty be met and overcome? In other words, will the Legislature appropriate the necessary amount of money. At present I am not prepared to recommend any large increase of the appropriation. My object is more particularly to call your attention to a period in the future, when the required sum can be devoted to this object without the imposition of any additional tax upon the people. If I am right in the views which I have already presented of the financial condition of the State, present and prospective, in the course of a few years the public debt will be paid off, and there will be no necessity for incurring another. When that time shall have arrived, our present tax law may be reduced one half, and still furnish ample means for an economical administration of the Government—giving no just cause of complaint on the ground of taxation. The State rail road under the system I have recommended will bring into the Treasury a certain and regular revenue of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. To that sum I look to supply the present defect in our educational system for the poor. To that patriotic object, as well as to the necessities of the institutions established by the State for the Deaf and Dumb, the Blind, and the unfortunate Lunatic, it should be sacredly devoted; and until the wants of each and all should have been fully supplied, not one dollar should be withdrawn for any other purpose. I have invited your attention to the

subject at this time that the public mind may be directed to its consideration in advance of the period when the policy may with propriety be adopted.

PUBLIC PRINTING

I call your attention to the law on the subject of the public printing. It is defective in many respects, and requires Legislative action. The great delay that occurred in the printing of the Laws and Journals of the last General Assembly, should not be permitted to occur again. Under the law as it now stands there will always be more or less danger of its recurring. In the estimation of many persons the Executive is held partly responsible for such delay, and yet he is powerless to prevent it. Provision should be made by law that the public printing should be done at the seat of Government—under the eye and supervision of the Executive, and he should be clothed with power to transfer it from the hands of the public printer whenever he fails to complete it in a given period to be fixed by law. Whenever there is unnecessary delay, the Executive should be authorized and required to make such deductions as the exigency in his judgment justifies; and similar power should be lodged with him in case the printing is not executed in manner and style required by law. It should be made the duty of the Secretary of State, to compare the printed laws before their final publication, with the enrolled acts in his office, and proper compensation should be allowed him for the discharge of this duty. The style and execution of the printed acts should be improved. The act of 1834 required them to conform to the laws of the United States, as at that time published. Since then great improvement has been made in the printing of the laws of the United States, and we should in this respect keep up with the progress of the age.

ANNUAL SESSIONS

The experiment of bi-ennial sessions of the General Assembly, has been sufficiently tested by experience, and I

believe that the public judgment of the State is prepared to pronounce against it. I was among the number of its advocates, and so voted when the question was submitted to the people for their decision. I am now satisfied, that in common with a large majority of my fellow citizens, I was wrong, and am prepared to recommend a return to annual sessions. Even if the policy of bi-ennial sessions was right at the time of its adoption, the increased interest and important public works of the State have wrought such a change in our affairs that a different system is now required for our progressed and progressing condition. A single consideration should satisfy every man of the propriety of annual sessions. At present, all power is placed in the hands of the Executive for two years, and his term expires and the people are called upon to pass judgment upon his official career before his actings and doings can be submitted to the test of Legislative investigation. He cannot be called upon for exposition of his official doings until the General Assembly meets, and that does not take place until his term of office has expired, and he has either been re-elected or defeated, or has voluntarily withdrawn from the public service. This is wrong in theory, and might work much injury in practice. It was an economical view of the subject which induced the people to resort to bi-ennial sessions, but it may well be questioned whether the result has justified this expectation. The fact that the General Assembly meets only once in two years, renders it necessary to extend the length of the session. The accumulated business of the two years must be disposed of, and additional time is required to do it. In order that the people may have an opportunity of passing their judgment upon this subject, I recommend that an act altering the constitution be passed by the General Assembly at its present session, and the question submitted to the people at the next general election. If approved by them, your successors can perfect the alteration, and if condemned, the act can then be rejected. An opportunity will thus be offered of having the question decided by the direct action of those most deeply interested in the matter.

ATTORNEY GENERAL

My experience in office has brought vividly before me the fact that innumerable occasions occur, where the Executive, on account of the varied and increasing interests of the State, requires the mature and deliberate counsel of persons skilled in the law. The hurried and off-hand opinions of the best lawyers, are worth but little under such circumstances, and the separate solemn advice of feed counsel on every such question, would be a heavy draw upon the contingent fund. My own conviction is, that an officer known as the Attorney General of the State of Georgia, with such a salary as would command the best counsel in the State, would meet the necessity of the case. To the general duty of advising the several Executive Departments of the Government, might be added with propriety, the representing and advocating the interest of the State in all questions arising before our Supreme Court. The duties of such an officer, it is unnecessary for me to specify. The necessity and propriety of such an office will be felt by every one occupying the Executive chair.

THE SUPREME COURT AND STATE LIBRARY

At the time the Supreme Court was established the idea prevailed that the convenience of parties litigant required that the court should hold its sessions at points accessible to them. For that purpose it was provided in the law organizing the court that it should sit at nine different places. Experience has shown that this was a mistaken view of the subject, as the parties seldom if ever attend court. Their attendance is not necessary, and they therefore stay away. No one will question the fact, that this migratory feature is attended with great inconvenience to the members of the court. If this was the only objection to it, it might be borne with, but it deprives the court of the advantages of consulting good libraries, which are not to be found at many of the points, where it is now held. Without attempting to present the many reasons which might be urged in favor of

the change, as they will readily suggest themselves to your minds, I recommend that the places for holding the court be reduced to the number required by the Constitution. Looking to the future permanence and usefulness of this court, I think it advisable that the Constitution be so amended as to authorize its entire sittings at the seat of government. I can see no good reason why it should be otherwise. The docket of the court could be so arranged for each of the Judicial Districts as to enable counsel to attend to their cases with as much convenience at Milledgeville as at any other point.

In this connection I call your attention to the condition of our State library. For many years the library has been totally neglected and almost lost sight of by the Legislature. The last General Assembly made an annual appropriation of a thousand dollars for it. This amount regularly continued with the system of exchanges with the other States, would in the course of a few years furnish a State library, of which we might not be ashamed. The small salary given to the librarian will not secure the services of a competent officer, unless the appointment is connected with some other office, as has been done during the last two years. The librarian's report is herewith communicated. It will show the condition of the library, its increase since I came into office, and also the regulations I have adopted to preserve it from its former fate. It cannot be necessary for me to submit an argument to the Legislature in favor of obtaining and keeping a good State library. State pride, if there was no other consideration, would make an appeal in its favor, that ought not to be disregarded. Its propriety and usefulness, however, are too apparent to require further comment. I confidently commend to your favorable consideration the policy adopted by your immediate predecessors on this subject.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

A vacancy occurred on the Supreme Court bench during the present year, by the resignation of the Hon. Hiram

Warner, which I filled by the appointment of the Hon. Ebenezer Starnes. There have been several vacancies occasioned by death and resignation, on the Circuit Court bench, but as they are no longer filled by the Legislature, it is unnecessary to specify them.

The creditors of the Bank of Darien have been for years applying to the State for the liquidation of their claims, holding as they do, that the State is liable for them. It is time this matter should be disposed of, and I recommend that some provision be made by the present General Assembly for the final settlement of these claims, either by submitting the questions involved to the decision of the courts, or some other tribunal to be selected by the Legislature, and agreed to by the parties in interest.

I was directed by a resolution of the last General Assembly, to withdraw the block of marble, which had been furnished for the Washington Monument from this State, on account of the objectionable inscription upon it, and to provide another in its stead, with the simple inscription of the Arms of the State. Finding that the object of the Legislature could be carried out by an alteration of the inscription on the block already furnished, I adopted that course, as the most economical and appropriate under the circumstances.

By joint resolution of the last General Assembly, I was required to appoint a commission to examine and report to the present Legislature, on the claims of Wm. Q. Anderson, Thos. Anderson, and Richard J. Willis, securities of John R. Anderson, on his bonds, as Cashier and agent of the Darien Bank. I appointed Charles Dougherty and Wm. Hope Hull, Esqs., and herewith transmit to you their report upon the subject.

My predecessor informed the last General Assembly that the question of the boundary between Florida and our own State had been submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States, and that he had engaged the services of the Hon. J. M. Berrien, as the Attorney of the State. At the instance of Judge Berrien, I associated with him the Hon. George E. Badger having been authorized by resolution of

the last Legislature, to employ additional counsel in the case. The case is still pending, and will probably be decided at the approaching term of that court.

A question of boundary between South Carolina and Georgia has arisen since the adjournment of the last General Assembly. The correspondence between the Governor and the Attorney General of South Carolina and myself on that subject is herewith transmitted. My views are so fully presented in that correspondence, that I deem it unnecessary to add anything in reference to it. I recommend that the suggestion contained in the last letter of the Attorney General of South Carolina be acceded to, and that provision be made for submitting the question of boundary to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. It presents the most satisfactory mode of settling a dispute, which if left unadjusted, might at some future day lead to unpleasant consequences.

By a joint resolution of the last General Assembly, I was directed to appoint "two suitable persons as delegates from this State to attend a convention of delegates from the Thirteen Original States," which was held in Philadelphia, on the 5th of July 1852. I appointed the Hon. Marshall J. Welborn of Columbus, and the Hon. Asbury Hull of Athens, who accepted the appointment, and their report of the action of the convention is herewith transmitted. The object for which this convention assembled, and the mode by which the object is to be consummated, are so fully and satisfactorily presented in the accompanying report, that I do not feel called upon to do more than ask for it your careful consideration. It is no local or sectional movement, in which the people of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania alone are interested. It was prompted by a national sentiment as broad as the Union—and a spirit of gratitude and veneration as deeply implanted in the hearts of the American people, as are the memories of our revolutionary struggles. Georgia has participated so far with commendable zeal, and patriotic ardor in this noble enterprise—and I doubt not, that every

step of its future progress will be marked with the evidences of her liberality.

The last General Assembly passed a joint resolution authorizing me "to erect, on the public grounds, near the State House, a suitable monument to the memory of our late distinguished fellow-citizen, Hon. John Forsyth, and pay for the same out of the money appropriated for that purpose by the act of the Legislature, approved February 23, 1850." The proposition contained in this resolution, meets my cordial approval. No one entertains a higher appreciation of the services and brilliant career of Mr. Forsyth, than myself, and it would have given me sincere pleasure to have carried out the intention of the Legislature, if it could have been done. The amount of the appropriation is wholly inadequate for the contemplated object. A monument erected on the State House square, to the memory of Mr. Forsyth, should not only be creditable to the State, but worthy of the distinguished dead; such a monument cannot be obtained for one thousand dollars. For this reason and for this reason alone, I have taken no steps to carry out this resolution, and I now recommend that the appropriation be increased to a sum that will secure such a monument as the occasion calls for; a monument worthy of the State of Georgia, and worthy of the distinguished defender of the Constitution and Union of our fathers.

We have just had our first judicial elections under the law giving those elections to the people. The policy of the law has been vindicated, and it presents an appropriate occasion for recommending an extension of its provisions to the remaining cases of State officers elected by the Legislature.

Our election laws need amendment. The duty of deciding upon the returns of many elections, is by implication devolved upon the Executive. No rules however are prescribed for his government. This should be remedied by the passage of an act, plainly defining his duty, power, and mode of procedure.

The great number of laws which have been passed on the subject of the lands belonging to the State has involved that

subject in great difficulty. Many of these laws were of a mere local character, but their application being general in the terms of the statute, has produced a contrariety of provisions difficult to reconcile. The whole subject needs thorough and radical legislation, and I trust it will receive your consideration during the present session. For the disposition of the remaining ungranted lands of every description, that have been regularly surveyed, I would recommend that the policy of the act of 1843 be adopted. Experience has proven it to be, by far the most economical and satisfactory mode of disposing of the public lands.

The slow but steady development of the mineral resources of our State, should bring to your attention the importance of providing for a thorough geological survey of the State. Other departments of interest would be greatly benefitted by it—and I recommend that ample provision be made for that purpose.

I was requested by resolution of the Senate of the last Legislature to make the alterations and arrangements in the Senate Chamber rendered necessary by the increased number of that body. It has been attended to—and a portion of the expense paid out of the contingent fund. No special appropriation was made to carry out this resolution, and it now becomes necessary for you to make an early appropriation to pay the balance due to Mr. Lord, the contractor. As he was among the unfortunate number who suffered severely from the late fire in this city, I would urge upon you the justice of providing for the immediate settlement of his account.

Your attention has doubtless been arrested by the destructive character of the fire to which I have just alluded. The individual sufferers make no appeal to you for relief, but it is in your power to render essential aid, not only to them but to the whole community, by decisive action upon the subject of a removal of the seat of government. The constant agitation of that question has paralyzed the energies of the people of Milledgeville and crushed their spirit of enterprise. The future prosperity of their city is in-

volved in it, and so long as it remains an open and unsettled point, the effect will be felt and seen in the downward tendency of every interest connected with the prosperity of the city. Ample time has been allowed for ascertaining the popular will on the subject and legislative expression should now be given to the judgment of the pepole. It is due not only to this community, but also to the future comfort of those, who may be officially called to spend a portion of their time at the Capitol. Such arrangements as are necessary to make Milledgeville a pleasant residence for the members of the General Assembly, and others called here by public business, can never be made until it is known that the seat of Government will not be removed. Whatever, therefore, may be the public will on this subject, let it be made known in such authoritative form, as will relieve all doubt and anxiety in reference to it.

FEDERAL RELATIONS

I herewith transmit a communication from the State Department of the Federal Government, accompanied with a copy of a "Consular Convention between the United States of America and His Majesty the Emperor of the French." Your attention is called to the provisions of the seventh article of the convention.

I herewith transmit the resolutions of various state Legislatures, which have been forwarded to me.

Since the last session of the General Assembly, an occurrence has transpired in which Georgia, though not directly a party, is in my judgment deeply interested, and to which I deem it my duty to call your attention. A citizen of Virginia on his way to Texas with slaves is by force of circumstances, compelled to take a temporary transit through the city of New York. Upon Habeas Corpus before Judge Payne of that State—the negroes were declared free, and the citizen deprived of his property. Though indemnified fully, I believe by voluntary subscription, yet the principle involved in the decision is one of vast importance and of startling tendency, in which the interest of Mr. Lemmons

becomes insignificant, and the interest of every slave holding State paramount and equal. Virginia and Texas have no deeper interest than Georgia and Alabama. It is understood that an appeal has been taken from the decision, to the appellate court of New York, and it is probable that the final adjudication of the question involved will be made by the Supreme Court of the United States. The deliberate determination of any question by that tribunal, commands and should receive the respect of the country, and constitutes a precedent controlling subsequent cases. The principles involved in the decision of Judge Payne will be better considered in a court room than in a document like the present. It is not my purpose therefore to submit an argument on the correctness of that decision. If such is the law, it is the first time that it has been solemnly, thus pronounced in a case made before any tribunal within my knowledge. If it be true that the citizens of the slave holding States, who by force of circumstances or for convenience seek a passage through the territory of a non-slave holding State, with their slaves—are thereby deprived of their property in them, and the slaves ipso facto become emancipated, it is time that we know the law as it is. No Court in America has ever announced this to be law. It would be exceedingly strange if it should be. By the comity of Nations, the personal status of every man is determined by the law of his domicil, and whether he be bond or free, capable or incapable *there*, he remains so *every where* until a new domicil is acquired. This is but the courtesy of nation to nation, founded, not upon the statute, but is absolutely necessary for the peace and harmony of States, and for the enforcement of private justice. A denial of this comity is unheard of among civilized nations, and if deliberately and wantonly persisted in, would be just cause of war. Can it be possible that the courtesy yielded by independent nations to each other, can be rightfully denied by one of these states to the other? Is the bond of Union an authority or reason for a course of conduct so unjustifiable without that bond? Did the framers of the Constitution so wise and so provident

as to all other possible causes of disturbance between the States, permit so pregnant a source of discord, to pass unheeded and unprovided for? In yielding our right to make treaties, and to declare war, have we left ourselves remedyless in cases of palpable violation of the law and comity of nations? The adjudication of these questions by the tribunal organized under the constitution, cannot be reviewed with indifference by us. Every slave-holding State should be heard before that tribunal. I therefore recommend, that in the event, of the Lemmon's case being carried before the Supreme Court, the Executive be authorized to employ able counsel, in behalf of the State of Georgia, to be heard before that court, upon these questions.

The general condition of our Federal Relations presents a flattering prospect. Since the happy termination of those angry sectional strifes, which for a time threatened our peace and quiet, the country has returned to a state of calm repose, and all the indications of the present, point to a happy, peaceful and prosperous future.

HOWELL COBB.

BOOK REVIEWS

John Archibald Campbell, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1853-1861. By Henry G. Conner, LL.D., Judge of the United States Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920. Pp. viii, 310).

This volume in protraying the life of John Archibald Campbell thereby gives a valuable insight into much of the nation's history, legal and political, for the subject was a prominent figure in the country's affairs for almost half a century. A native of Georgia, and a graduate of the State University, he early began the practice of law and soon thereafter entered into politics in Alabama. In 1853 he was appointed to the United States Supreme Court, where he remained until the outbreak of the Civil War convinced him that he could be of no further use in that body. He was the intermediary between the Southern Commissioners and Secretary Seward, concerning the relief of Fort Sumter; and later when it became evident that the South could not win the war, he stood out again as a strong force for peace and an understanding between the sections. In fulfilling this role he was present at the Hampton Roads Conference, and after the fall of Richmond he had conversations with Lincoln concerning the means of procedure in reconstructing the South. Although a believer in the right of secession, he had argued that the causes were not sufficient in 1860 and 1861—that the election of Lincoln was not sufficient provocation to break up the Union. After being imprisoned in Fort Pulaski for a few months, at the end of the war, he went to New Orleans where he entered into the practice of law. He died in Baltimore in 1889.

While this volume is concerned much with legal matters, such as court decisions and arguments of counsel, it has a far wider interest than merely to the legal profession; and

although sixty-two court decisions are discussed or mentioned, it carries forward with few jars the interest on broad principles. Judge Campbell participated in some of the most important decisions of the times—especially those relating to slavery are of note, such as the Dred Scott case, the Wisconsin Supreme Court nullification procedure, and Kentucky vs. Denison. In the Circuit Courts of the Southern Circuit, over which he presided, he had occasion to deal with the filibustering expeditions, involving neutrality laws, and slave trade cases.

Judge Campbell's hostility to monopolies, and his state right sentiments are brought out in numerous cases, which he argued or decided. His opposition to the extension of the Federal Courts' maritime jurisdiction was actuated by this latter feeling. However, in the Slaughter-House case, which he argued in 1872 before the United States Supreme Court, he did not let his state rights sentiments (undoubtedly greatly modified by the war), prevent him from taking the side against Louisiana, aided as he was by the feeling against monopolies, municipal or otherwise.

This volume gives interesting information on the South's Commissioners to Washington, quoting Campbell's *Facts of History* on the negotiations. It also lets Campbell speak for himself through his memoranda, on his conversations with Lincoln at the end of the war; but it fails to quote his memoirs on the Hampton Roads Conference.

In the preparation of the book, many of Campbell's letters and papers were used with also much secondary material, to which, however, the footnotes inadequately refer, and for which no bibliography is attached. There are some slips in quotations and a few typographical errors (e. g., p. 171). There is an index. On the whole this is a valuable work well done. E. M. C.

Negro Folk Rhymes, Wise and Otherwise, with a Study. By Thomas W. Talley (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xii, 347. $2.25.)

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Negro Folk Rhymes, Wise and Otherwise, with a Study. By Thomas W. Talley (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xii, 347. $2.25.)

This collection of Negro folk rhymes not only expresses

the record of a singing, dancing people in the lighter vein of song and story, but it also has a historical interest in its portrayal of the life of the Negro in slavery and in freedom. Although some of the rhymes are of African origin, and others are of a light and trivial nature; still, many of them express the fundamental feelings and deep longings of the race. Much of the life history of the Negroes, their reaction on their economic and political surroundings, stands out in many of these rhymes. Most of them are of ante-bellum origin, and therefore often touch their conditions as slaves; but some arose during the Civil War, and others came still later to record the Negroe's development into a laborer on "public works."

Various features of the life of the slave are portrayed. In "Ration Day" the good things he got to eat from his master are mentioned. According to the first stanza:

"Dat ration day come once a week,
Ole Mosser's rich as Gundy;
But he gives us 'lasses all de week,
An' buttermilk fer Sund'y."

The slave's reward for being good while the master was away is expressed in the rhyme, "Going to be Good Slaves." The threat held over slaves to "sell them South", if they became unruly produced this rhyme:

" 'Way down yon'er in 'Possum Trot,
(In ole Miss'sip' whar de sun shines hot)
Dere hain't no chickens an' de Niggers eats c'on;
You hain't never see'd de lak since youse been bo'n,
You'd better min' Mosser an' keep a stiff lip,
So's you won't git sol' down to ole Miss'sip'."

The promise often made by slave owners to liberate their slaves seems not to have been carried out in all cases as these stanzas from "Promise of Freedom" indicate:

"Ole Mosser lakwise promise me,
W'en he died, he'd set me free.

But ole Mosser go an' make his Will
Fer to leave me a-plowing ol Beck still.

"Yes, my ole Mosser promise me;
But 'his papers' didn' leave me free.
A dose of pisen he'ped 'im along.
May de Devil preach his funer'l song."

The slave slipping away for a visit "widout pass an' warnin'" as well as his escape into freedom are recorded in the ante-bellum rhymes, "Off from Richmond", "Song to the Runaway Slave", and "Four Runaway Negroes—Whence they Came." The Negro philosophy on the subject of freedom stands out in "Jack and Dinah Want Freedom." Here "Ole Aunt Dinah" would like to be free

"But, you know, Aunt Dinah's gittin' sorter ole;
An' she's feared to go to Canada, caze it's so col'."

Then, there was "Uncle Jack"

". .. he want to git free.
He find de way Norf by de moss on de tree.
He cross dat river a-floatin' in a tub.
Dem Patterollers give 'im a mighty close rub."

Lastly

"Dar is ole Uncle Billy, he's a mighty good Nigger.
He tote all de news to Mosser a little bigger.
When you tell Uncle Billy, you wants free fer a fac';
De nex' day de hide drap off'n yo' back."

Hunting the runaway found expression in "Run, Nigger! Run!"

The Civil War came and some of the Negroes became soldiers for "Ole Abe." as recorded in "Negro Soldier's Civil War Chant." The South was invaded and the plantations ransacked. A rhyme, "Page's Geese" told of "Ole Man Page's" rage when he should find that all of his geese had been been bought by "Yankee soldiers" for one cent apiece and the money sent home by the gander. "The Year of

Jubilee" tells of the forcible freeing of slaves by the Union troops and the rought handling of the erstwhile master. The hard lot of the former master following the war elicited this rhyme from the freedman:

"Missus an' Mosser a-walkin' de street,
Deir han's in dier pockets and nothin' to eat."

The development of the Negro into a laborer on construction works of various kinds stands out in the rhymes, "The Old Section Boss and John Henry."

This volume has also a study of Negro folk rhymes and an index to the titles. The work of collecting these rhymes was long in process and well done. E. C. M.

EXCHANGES

An extra number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, November, 1921, containing the proceedings of the thirteenth annual meeting of Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presents a number of important papers. Of special interest in Georgia is a paper an Elijah Clark's Foreign Intrigues and the "Trans-Oconee Republic," by E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia. Professor Coulter has made a careful study of two ventures of Elijah Clarke, who won fame and influence as a bold partisan leader in Georgia during the revolution. His intrigue with Genet against the Spanish in the Floridas links him with George Rogers Clark, Wilkinson, Burr and other Americans who have been tools of foreign powers. His Trans-Oconee settlement in defiance of the State of Georgia as well as the government of the United States forms an early chapter in the story of the interesting and often stormy relations of Georgia and the United States over the Indians within the State. The December number of the Review contains an article by Charles W. Ramsdell on the Control of Manufacturing by the Confederate Government and one by James G. Randall on George Rogers Clark's Service of Supply.

In the *Maryland Historical Magazine* of December, 1921, Bernard C. Steiner begins a life of James A. Pearce, United States Senator from Maryland for twenty years during the important period from 1843 to 1863. Edward S. Delaplane contributes the ninth installment of the life of Thomas Johnson, in which he describes the course of Maryland in regard to the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Some unpublished Provincial Records are printed and notes from the early Records of Maryland and material on the Calvert Family.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, January, 1922, publishes a paper by E. Alfred Jones, M.A., F. R. Hist. S., on the American Regiment in the Carthegena Expedition. This expedition, in 1740, is of interest in American history as the first occasion in which American troops were employed outside their own continent. Fairfax Harrison contributes an interesting article on Parson Waugh's Tumult, a reaction in Virginia to the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688-89.

The principal article of the January, 1922, *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* is a History of the Coal Industry in Kentucky by Willard Rouse Jillson, Sc.D., Director and State Geologist of the Kentucky Geological Survey. There are published in this number of the Register also Early Marriage Records of Mercer County, 1786-1800, a glimpse of Paris (Kentucky) in 1809 by Mrs. W. H. Whitley; Clark County, Kentucky, in the census of 1810 copied and edited by A. C. Quisenberry; and tributes to the late William Thompson Price, who was buried at Frankfort, October 29, 1921.

Fifty pages of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* of January, 1921, (issued December, 1921) are filled with an account of the Battle of Franklin, the Key to the Last Campaign in the West, by Reverend W. W. Grist, D.D., who was in the battle on the Union side. The magazine includes also a Yankee Schoolmaster's Reminiscences of Tennessee by Marshall S. Snow, who writes of Nashville from 1866 to 1869, and the history of Tennessee Department of Library Archives and History by A. P. Foster.

The South Atlantic Quarterly for January, 1922, contains an article on "The Place of Woodrow Wilson in American Politics" by Edward J. Woodhouse. This article gives the most important facts in the career of Woodraw Wilson from his election to the presidency to the present, and while it is an appreciation of his services it is not a glorification. It is

an impartial, just and deserved tribute to an illustrious American statesman. There are two other articles in this number which are of special interest. Pro-slavery Propaganda in American Fiction of the Fifties, by Jeanette Reid Tandy, and Political Problems of Hispanic America; Their Origin and Nature, by Mary Wilhelmina Williams.

HISTORICAL NEWS

It is learned with sincere regret that the present illness of Mr. Otis Ashmore has been so serious as to necessitate his offering his resignation as secretary and treasurer of the Georgia Historical Society. It is to be hoped that he may yet find it possible to resume his duties. Mr. Ashmore has rendered valuable service to the Society, and while he may not continue as secretary-treasurer, it may be possible for him to serve as a curator and thus give the Society the benefit of his experience and advice. Mr. Charles F. Groves, Box 727, Savannah, Ga., is now acting secretary and treasurer.

The eighty-third annual meeting of the Georgia Historical Society will be held at Hodgson Hall, corner Gaston and Whitaker street in Savannah on Wednesday, April 12. Judge Andrew J. Cobb, president of the Society, will deliver an address, the subject of which will be announced later. The committee arranging the program for this meeting is composed of Dr. R. P. Brooks, University of Georgia; Charles Seymour Thompson, Librarian Savannah Public Library, and Dr. P. S. Flippin, Mercer University. The terms of five of the fifteen curators of the Society will expire in April this year. It is desired that the members of the Society will endeavor to attend.

The Florida Historical Society was recently greatly stimulated by the personal interest of Mr. John B. Stetson, Jr., in early Florida history of the Spanish period. A historical pageant is to be undertaken in Jacksonville, in which the Florida Historical Society is given a conspicuous part. Some time in the near future it might be possible to arrange a historical pageant in Savannah under the auspices of the Georgia Historical Society.

The Woodrow Wilson International Relations Club of Bessie Tift College, under the direction of C. B. Gosnell, professor of history, in addition to the usual study of current events, has recently had the following series of lectures: The Russian Revolution, Baron Korff; New Forces in Old India, Dr. S. L. Joshi, of the College of Baroda, India; The New Citizenship, Professor J. W. W. Daniel, of Wesleyan College; The Ideals of Citizenship, Mr. Claude Christopher, of Barnesville, Ga.; Some Problems of Government in the South, Professor C. B. Gosnell, of Bessie Tift College; Tax Reform in Georgia, Dr. J. H. T. McPherson, of University of Georgia, and The Responsibilities of Citizenship, Dr. P. S. Flippin, of Mercer University.

The North Georgia Conference on Welfare, held at the University of Georgia, Jan. 23-25, under the direction of Professor J. L. Sibley, of the Department of Sociology of that University, was an important and notable meeting. There were several papers and addresses on different phases of the following subjects: Child Hygiene and Public Health, The Dependent, Delinquent and Neglected Child, The Cost of Delinquency and Disease to the State, Religion the Basis of Cooperation. Several of those on the program were from other states than Georgia, among whom were Dr. Edward T. Devine, of Columbia University; Dr. George Foster Peabody, of New York; Dr. James E. Gregg, of Hampton Institute, and Dr. James H. Dillard, President of Jeans and Slater Boards.

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* Died May 8, 1922.

The Georgia Historical Quarterly

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DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN LOWER GEORGIA FROM 1850 TO 1880.

ROLAND M. HARPER, PH. D.
Geological Survey of Alabama

In the preceding number of the Quarterly the writer sketched the development of agriculture from 1850 to 1880 in that part of Georgia lying north of the fall line (about two-fifths of the state), by means of census statistics. The present article covers the coastal plain or lower three-fifths of the state, for the same period. The explanation of the methods used and the general principles illustrated will not be repeated any more than necessary, for it is presumed that every reader of this will also have access to the preceding instalment. The soil and vegetation of each region will be described briefly, and the principal emphasis will be laid on the economic and social differences induced by (or correlated with) differences of soil.

Besides the literature dealing with the whole state, cited in the previous paper, there are a few additional works relating particularly to lower Georgia that deserve mention. Sir Charles Lyell, a noted English geologist, entered the state at Augusta about the end of 1841, and went by steamer about seventy miles down the Savannah river, and then by land to Millhaven, Jacksonborough, and Savannah. Four years later he landed at Savannah, and went by steamer to

Darien and several places in that vicinity, and a little later traveled over the Central Railroad, mostly by hand-car, to Macon and Milledgeville, and then by stage to Columbus. He was an acute observer, not only of geological phenomena but of social conditions, and his views on slavery are especially valuable on account of their impartiality. His observations are set forth very interestingly in two works of two small volumes each, "Travels in North America," published in 1845, and "Second visit to the United States," 1849.

The "Journal of a residence on a Georgia plantation in 1838-9," by "Fanny Kemble" (Mrs. Pierce Butler) published in New York in 1863, is often cited, but is said to be decidedly prejudiced. The plantation described was near Darien. Her daughter, Frances Butler Leigh, wrote a more friendly book, "Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation Since the War," published in London in 1883. A much more optimistic picture of slavery days in Liberty County is R. Q. Mallard's "Plantation days before Emancipation," published in Richmond in 1892. The Autobiography of Joseph LeConte, published in 1903, gives an interesting account of his boyhood days in Liberty County before the war, by one who was perhaps the greatest scientist Georgia ever produced.[1]

Lower Georgia is more diversified than upper Georgia in soil, but not so much in topography, no point in that section exceeding 700 feet above sea-level, as far as known. Statistics are given below for nine sub-divisions, and there are two smaller ones shown on the map, which do not extend far enough into Georgia to be studied in that way. For each region the leading soil texture classes will be given, as determined from recent government soil surveys of many counties, and a few of the commonest trees, as determined by quantitative studies in every county.

1 A descriptive work covering the whole state which I neglected to cite in the previous article is a "Handbook of the State of Georgia" by Dr. Thomas P. Janes, Commissioner of Agriculture, published in 1876. Most of the chemical data in it were contributed by Dr. H. C. White, who taught me chemistry at the University of Georgia twenty years later, and is still there, and the geological and botanical chapters by Dr. George Little, then state geologist, who now lives in Tuscaloosa, Ala. (the city of his birth) a few blocks from me, and can remember Sir Charles Lyell's visit to Tuscaloosa in 1846.

Map showing geographical or agricultural divisions of Georgia. Only those south of the fall line are discussed in this article. The small areas without names are two portions of the fall-line sand-hills near Macon, the Tallahassee red hills south of Thomasville, and the peninsular lime-sink region of Florida, south of Valdosta. The railroads and county boundaries are those of 1885.

The uppermost division is the *fall-line sand-hills,* a narrow and more or less interrupted belt bordering the fall line from central North Carolina to western Georgia. As the name implies, the country is elevated and sandy, and the soil rather poor; but like many other poor regions the world over, it is salubrious and well supplied with good water. Geologists are not yet agreed as to whether the sand is a product from Cretaceous strata, or a comparatively recent sedimentary deposit, but that makes no particular difference to the student of vegetation or population. The leading soil texture classes, in order of area, are sand, coarse sand, sandy loam, coarse sandy loam, swamp and fine sand. The natural forest growth is mostly long-leaf pine and forked-leaf black-jack oak (sometimes called turkey oak) on the uplands, and black gum, bay, poplar, red maple, etc., are common in swamps.

The region is sparsely settled, and it differs from all the surrounding regions in having more whites than negroes. It is too narrow to cover the whole of any county, but statistics for Glascock and Taylor counties (both established between 1850 and 1860) represent it fairly well, though it must be borne in mind that both, especially the latter, contain parts of more fertile regions, and if these could be excluded the contrasts would be still greater.

It was just at the inland edge of this region that David Dickson and Farish Furman made notable successes in farming about half a century ago, the former, in Hancock County, mainly by efficient utilization of labor, and the latter (a son-in-law of Joseph Le Conte) in Baldwin County, by the intelligent use of fertilizers.

The *blue marl region* is small in Georgia but larger in Alabama. Its strata are of Cretaceous age, and mostly marly, but covered in most places, like the greater part of our coastal plain, with later non-calcareous clays and sands. It is moderately hilly, and some of the valleys are wider than the ridges, reminding one of the Appalachian Valley (Northwest Georgia) on a small scale. The railroads are mostly

in the valleys, and where they cut through the ridges they often expose the marly strata full of characteristic fossils. Some of the creeks flow through small gorges with precipitous sides.

The prevailing soil texture classes are sandy loam, clay, fine sandy loam, sand, and very fine sandy loam. There is very little swamp. The commonest trees are short-leaf (loblolly) pine, long-leaf pine, short-leaf (rosemary) pine, and sweet gum. On account of the small area of this region in Georgia, the statistics for it are not very satisfactory. It covers most of Chattahoochee County and less than half of Quitman and Stewart, but probably includes most of the farm land in the last two.

The *red hills* of the coastal plain extend from eastern South Carolina to northern Mississippi, and perhaps a little farther in both directions, in a belt about thirty miles wide. The underlying strata are Eocene limestone, marl, chert, shale etc., but they do not usually show at the surface enough to influence the soil much, the prevailing surface material being a reddish loam, varying from clay to nearly pure sand in places. The topography is rolling to moderately hilly, with broad uplands and narrower more or less swampy valleys. At the boundary between this and the blue marl region, particularly near Brooklyn and Lumpkin, there is an inland-facing escarpment about 600 feet above sea level, from which one can get extensive views to the northwestward.

There is a narrow belt of limestone and strongly calcareous soils extending from about Sandersville to Perry, which might rank as a distinct region if it was wide enough; and the influence of limestone is seen in a few other places, particularly in northern Randolph County, in the occurrence of a few caves and shallow ponds. The principal soil texture classes, according to existing soil surveys (which hardly touch any of the distinctly calcareous areas) are sandy loam, fine sandy loam, sand, loamy sand, clay loam, and "meadow" (the last a term used by the Bureau of Soils con-

trary to ordinary usage, to cover a great variety of soils subject to occasional inundation). Three kinds of pine and several oaks are common on uplands, sweet gum in various situations, and bay, poplar, black gum and cypress in swamps.

The *red lime lands* (heretofore combined with the sandy lime-sink region) are underlaid by Oligocene limestone, which influences the soil much more than most of the Eocene strata in the red hills do, as manifested by rock fragments in the soil and by numerous ponds and lime-sinks. The topography is neither flat nor hilly, but may be called rolling. The soils are commonly reddish in color, except where sand prevails. (There seems to be very little red soil in Lee County, but that county is included on account of the abundance of limestone and the predominance of negroes.) The prevailing texture classes in the parts of Terrell, Dougherty and Early counties included in this region (there being no soil surveys yet for Lee and Calhoun) are sandy loam (about half the total), clay loam (about one-fifth), swamp, loamy sand, gravelly sand loam, and gravelly clay loam. (There is perhaps no other equal area in the coastal plain east of the Mississippi River with so much clay loam.)

This is one of the few places east of the Mississippi River where the live oak grows wild over 100 miles from the coast; and although we have not enough chemical data yet, this may be an indication that the soils are rich in phosphorus, for in Florida the live oak seems to be partial to phosphatic soils. The vegetation in other respects is somewhat intermediate between that of the two adjoining regions.

Before the introduction of artesian wells (the first successful one in Georgia was drilled by Col. John P. Fort in the western part of Dougherty County in 1881) good water was scarce in this region (as in many other fertile regions); and before the discovery of the relation of mosquitoes to malaria, in 1900, it was regarded as very unhealthy for white people. Even yet negroes are decidedly in the

majority in the rural districts. The number of white persons in Dougherty County outside of Albany decreased from 1151 (17.3%) in 1860 to 501 (6.1%) in 1890, then increased to 1282 (15.1%) in 1920; and of course some if not most of them were in the sandy eastern part of the county.

The *lime-sink region* proper is chiefly confined to Southwest Georgia, West Florida, and southeastern Alabama, but it may be represented also in South Carolina and eastern Mississippi. It is underlaid by about the same geological formation as the preceding, but that is nearly everywhere covered by several feet of clay and sand, so that the vegetation does not differ much from that of the next region, which is distinctly non-calcareous. The topography is undulating to flattish, with many shallow ponds, some open and some full of trees, and surprisingly few small streams, on account of the prevalence of subterranean drainage. (One can go from Bainbridge twenty miles northward or northwestward without seeing any running water except the Flint River and Spring Creek.) In many places it is necessary to sink a well fifty feet or more to get good water, and the negroes may either carry what little water they need from some white man's house, or dig a shallow well close to the edge of some pond. There are several large limestone springs (blue springs), the best known one being a few miles south of Albany.

The prevailing soils are sandy loam (about three-fourths of the total), sand, "meadow," swamp, loamy sand, clay loam (about 2%), fine sandy loam, gravelly sandy loam and coarse sand. The original vegetation was mostly longleaf pine and wire grass, with slash pine, pond cypress, black gum and May haw in ponds, and various other deciduous trees along rivers and creeks.

The *rolling wire grass country* has no counterpart in South Carolina, but covers about 10,000 square miles in Georgia, and extends, with some interruptions, across West

Florida, southwestern Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. The strata within a few hundred feet of the surface are usually all clay and sand, and in a few places a clayey sandstone of about the color of pine bark, known as Altamaha Grit, crops out on hillsides. The boundary between this and the lime-sink region in most places is a distinct inland-facing escarpment, which in Decatur County rises about 150 feet in three miles.

The topography varies from flat to moderately hilly. The flat areas are usually on uplands remote from streams, and dotted with shallow irregular cypress ponds. In the hilly portions the valleys may be as much as fifty feet deep. Streams of all sizes abound, and good water is easily reached almost anywhere by shallow wells and suction pumps, compensating to some extent for the comparative infertility of the soil. There are deep beds of sand along the left sides of most of the creeks and rivers, a feature more extensively developed in this region than anywhere else in the eastern United States. The prevailing soil types are sandy loam (over half), sand, fine sandy loam, swamp, "meadow," coarse sandy loam, and loamy sand. A good deal of the upland is strewn with ferruginous nodules usually a fraction of an inch in diameter, making what is known as "pimply land," and regarded as a little better than the average.

In this region, as in all southeast of it, late summer is the wettest season, and the warm rains must have leached out much of the fertility that may have originally been in the soil. Such a climate is also unfavorable for the picking of ordinary upland cotton, but does not interfere so much with sea-island cotton, which ripens later, and was the preferred variety before the boll weevil came.

The country was originally covered with a magnificent forest of long-leaf pine carpeted with wire-grass, with small oaks on sand hills, cypress and slash pine in ponds, and bay, black gum and other hardwoods in swamps. Like many other regions with soil below the average in fertility, it has

always been practically free from malaria, and whites are nearly everywhere in the majority. In 1880, the latest year for we have such data by counties, there were more natives of North Carolina than of South Carolina in this region, a fact probably correlated with differences in the average fertility of the soil in those two states.

In ante-bellum days cultivated land must have been chiefly confined to river-bottoms and a few spots on the uplands where the sand is thin, and there was probably a good deal of somewhat nomadic farming, cultivating a small area for a few years until the soil was exhausted, and then clearing another patch and repeating the process. Lumbering and turpentining and cattle raising must have contributed more to the support of the population than tilling of the soil, as we can easily infer from some of the statistics presented presented below. But in spite of the unpromising environment some of the farmers were very thrifty, and White in his Statistics of Georgia, 1849, speaks in terms of admiration of the industrious citizens of Bulloch County.

The *hammock belt* includes parts of a few of the southern tier of counties in Georgia, but is more extensive in Florida. Its rocks seem to be mostly impure limestone, but they are not exposed in many places. The topography and soil vary greatly in short distances, from red loamy hills something like those in the red hill belt already described to flat sandy pine woods scarcely distinguishable from the flat pine lands described farther on.

The soils are evidently more fertile on the average than those in the wire-grass country, and the prevailing texture classes are fine sandy loam (over half), fine sand, sandy loam, sand, "meadow," swamp, and loamy sand. The commonest trees are long-leaf pine, short-leaf (loblolly) pine, and bay. The vegetation includes a good deal of hammock, characterized by magnolia, beech, spruce pine, sweet gum, evergreen oaks, dogwood etc.

The *Tallahassee red hills* is a small region best devel-

oped around Tallahassee, Fla., but extending northeastward to near Boston, Ga. One studying it in Georgia alone might consider it merely an extreme phase of the hammock belt, but it is more distinct in Florida. It is especially characterized by phosphatic rock (not pure enough to be mined with profit), and reddish loamy soils, with numerous lakes and ponds and few streams. The live oak and sweet gum (which are supposed to like phosphorus) are common trees, and the short-leaf (rosemary) pine still more so. The inhabitants are mostly negroes. There is not enough of this in Georgia to be treated statistically.

In the southern part of Lowndes and Brooks Counties is the north end of another lime-sink region, which extends far down into Florida, and includes the most important phosphate deposits in that state. The small portion of it in Georgia does not differ much from the sandy lime-sink region already described.

On the southeast the rolling wire-grass country passes sometimes gradually and sometimes abruptly into the *flat pine lands,* similar in soil and vegetation, but differing in topography, being in most places less than 100 feet above sea level and devoid of hills. The most conspicuous topographic features are two low sandy ridges, or terraces, running parallel to the coast, one about 40 miles inland and one about 25. The inner or higher one, known in Florida as Trail Ridge, makes a sort of dam along the east side of Okefinokee Swamp, a scenic wonderland covering about 700 square miles. The other causes the Satilla and St. Mary's rivers to flow parallel to it each for about 30 miles before resuming their direct courses to the sea.

The area is so flat that it is "poorly drained," except near rivers and creeks that have cut their channels down a little below the general level, and shallow swamps and ponds abound, and water is of course easy to get. The region seems to be about as healthful as the rolling wire-grass country, though. The prevailing soils are fine sand, fine

sandy loam, sand, swamp, and "meadow." The vegetation is much like that in the rolling country, except for having more swamp. The commonest trees are long-leaf pine, slash pine, pond cypress, black gum, black pine and bay.

The *coast strip* averages about twenty miles wide in Georgia, and includes a low, flat, marly belt on the mainland, extensive salt marshes, and the sea-islands, which are composed mostly of wind-blown sand, marsh muck, and oyster shells. The soil is moderately fertile, though in many places too low and damp to be cultivated profitably.

The principal soil types are marsh (about one-fourth), fine sand, clay, swamp, fine sandy loam, very fine sand, very fine sandy loam, coarse sandy loam, and clay loam. The commonest trees seem to be short leaf (loblolly) pine, slash pine, sweet gum, black gum, red maple, long-leaf pine, black pine, cabbage palmetto, and live oak; though of course if the islands alone were considered the sequence would be quite different.

On account of its accessibility, mild climate, and moderately fertile soil, this is the oldest agricultural region in the State. Indigo was an important crop in the 18th century, and rice held the lead considerably later. There were orange groves near Savannah before the Civil War. Sea-island cotton has been raised extensively, but not as much as in the corresponding portion of South Carolina. Only a comparatively small part of the area is cultivable, though, and before the days of artesian wells it was hard to get good water, so that few white people lived outside the cities.

It is difficult to get accurate statistics of this region, for two reasons. First, all of the six coast counties include considerable areas of the flat pine lands, which are very thinly settled. This is especially true of Liberty County, which although one of the oldest, with many traditions pertaining to its coastward extremity, extends so far back into the piney woods that county totals for it mean very little. Another difficulty is the concentration of most of the population

in Savannah and other seaports, whose growth reflects the prosperity of a large tributary territory, practically all of South Georgia, and is not dependent on their own environment. For this reason the figures for density of population, inhabitants per farm, etc., in this strip are not worth much for comparison with the other regions described. But of course this condition was not so marked in the period covered by this article as it is now when the seaport cities are much larger.

Bearing these brief descriptions of the several regions in mind, we can appreciate the statistical differences shown in the following tables. On account of the lack of correspondence between natural and political boundaries, if the ratios were carried out to as many decimals as even a small slide-rule allows, it would give them a false appearance of greater precision than can be claimed for them; so that decimals are usually omitted in the case of numbers with two or more digits, which is practically necessary anyway if we are to get nine columns of figures on one page. And in some cases the figures obtained by calculation have been deliberately distorted a little to bring them nearer the truth. For example, all the counties crossed by the hammock belt also contain some rolling wire-grass country, so that the ratios for those counties are somewhere between the ratios for the hammock belt and those for the wire-grass country, and it is permissible to shift them at least to the nearest whole number in a direction away from the wire-grass ratios.

As in the preceding article, the highest number in each line is printed in heavy type and the lowest in italics, unless two or more are so nearly the same that it is difficult to decide between them. This shows at a glance the extremes of variation in any particular region within the area treated, and makes it much easier to determine in what respect any particular region leads or falls behind. There is hardly room for the state averages in the tables, but they can be found in the previous article.

The four tables together contain about a thousand ratios, and may seem at first thought to make pretty dry reading. But it should be borne in mind that every number expresses some fundamental fact and to put all the same facts in sentences would involve tiresome repetition of words and require several times as many pages.

In 1850, the earliest period for which the census gives the number and size of farms, the counties traversed by the sand-hills, blue marl region, and hammock belt were so much wider than those regions that county statistics for them would be quite misleading; so they are omitted from the first table. The red lime lands perhaps should be omitted too, for it covered only a small part of Baker and Lee Counties at that period; but as the farming in those counties must have been chiefly confined to the red lands, the various ratios per farm may be accurate enough, and we can simply omit the density of population and percentage of improved land.

The red hill belt at that time was represented by Burke, Houston, Jefferson, Macon, Randolph, Twiggs, Washington, and Wilkinson Counties, the sandy lime-sink region by Dooly and Early, the rolling wire-grass by Appling, Bulloch, Emanuel, Irwin, Montgomery, Tattnall and Telfair, the flat pine lands by Clinch, Effingham, Ware and Wayne, and the coast strip by Chatham, Glynn and McIntosh.

The population of lower Georgia at that time was almost entirely rural, outside of the fall-line cities and seaports. The only railroad of consequence was the Central from Savannah to Macon, with a branch from Gordon to Milledgeville, and it did not touch any county-seats between its terminals until over sixty years after it was built.[1] The

[1] There is a tradition in Bulloch County that the railroad was originally intended to take a pretty direct course from Savannah to Macon, but Peter Cone, a large land-holder and member of the Legislature from Bulloch, successfully opposed it on the ground that the trains would kill too many of his cattle; so that when the railroad reached Meldrim it turned aside and went up the east side of the Ogeechee River. But my friend Dr. U. B. Phillips, one of the greatest modern authorities on Georgia history, assures me that there is no documentary evidence of any such action by the Legislature.

stations at first were located approximately ten miles apart, and numbered instead of named, and some of the oldest inhabitants still refer to them by number (or did a few years ago). The Southwestern R. R., now a part of the Central, had been built about forty miles southwestward from Macon.

The only cities and towns in lower Georgia mentioned in the census of 1850 are as follows: At the inland edge of the sand-hills, Augusta, with about 10,000 inhabitants, and Macon, with 5,720. At the inland edge of the blue marl region, Columbus, with 5,942. In the red hills, Buena Vista, with 530, Lanier (county-seat of Macon Co., now extinct) 217, and Waynesboro 192. In the wire-grass, Jacksonville, the old county-seat of Telfair, had 119 inhabitants. In the coast strip, Savannah, the largest city in the state, had 15,312, and Darien 550.

The only apparent error in the Seventh Census as far as it concerns lower Georgia is that the improved land in Pulaski County seems excessive, but that county is not used in the statistics because it then included what is now Dodge County, which is mostly in a different region. Richmond, Bibb, Crawford, Muscogee, Marion, Stewart, Sumter, Laurens, Screven, Decatur, Thomas, Lowndes, Bryan, Liberty and Camden Counties also are not used in the statistics, because they were then too large and diversified (and some of them still are).

The coast strip was then the most densely populated, but if the city of Savannah were excluded the red hills would lead in that respect. The coast strip had over twice as many negroes as white people, while in the two poorest regions, the rolling wire-grass and flat pine lands, whites outnumbered the negroes about three to one. The percentage of illiteracy among the whites, then as now, was roughly inversely proportional to the percentage of negroes, for

TABLE 1.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF LOWER GEORGIA, 1850.

	Red Hills	Red Lime Lands	Sandy Lime-Sink	Rolling Wire-Grass	Flat Pine Lands	Coast Strip
Inhabitants per square mile	17.3	.....	7.0	3.1	2.7	24.0
Per cent White	47.0	49.0	60.4	76.0	72.9	31.0
Per cent Free Colored	0.3	0.1	0	0.3	0.2	2.3
Per cent Slaves	52.7	50.9	39.5	23.7	26.9	66.7
Per cent Illiterate among Adult Whites	21.7	30.0	30.8	31.3	32.7	7.3
Per cent of Land Improved	25.7	.....	7.0	2.6	1.8	7.9
Inhabitants per Farm	18.0	18.0	15.0	9.7	11.3	102.0
Improved Acres per Inhabitant	9.5	7.7	6.7	5.3	4.2	2.1
Average Number of Acres per Farm	531	530	531	1033	719	1030
Average Number Improved Acres per Farm	172	138	101	52	47	211
Value of Land and Buildings per Farm	2339	3150	1125	700	716	10230
Value of Implements and Machinery per Farm	177	150	85	38	42	924
Value of Live-Stock per Farm	613	740	590	518	500	750
Number of Slaves per Farm	9.5	9.0	6.0	2.3	3.0	67.2
Number of Horses per Farm	3.2	2.9	2.5	2.5	2.2	5.6
Number of Mules per Farm	1.7	2.2	0.9	0.2	0.2	1.6
Number of Work Oxen per Farm	1.5	1.4	1.4	0.6	0.2	2.9
Number of Milch Cows per Farm	5.5	11.8	11.4	19.6	20.4	19.2
Number of Other Cattle per Farm	13.2	37.5	39.8	32.5	33.2	37.4
Number of Sheep per Farm	12.6	10.5	13.4	15.5	9.8	15.2
Number of Swine per Farm	52.6	75.0	55.5	56.0	56.7	30.6
Value of Animals Slaughtered, per Farm	165	175	120	95	86	82
Bales of Cotton Produced, per Farm	17.5	22.0	9.9	1.0	0.7	0.6
Bushels of Corn Produced, per Farm	707	705	490	234	222	420

where slaves were most numerous they did all the menial tasks, and the whites had to be reasonably intelligent to direct them.

The red hills apparently had by far the largest proportion of improved land (and nearly half the farms in South Georgia), indicating the best soil, but if we had accurate figures for the blue marl region and red lime lands one of those might have been a close second or even ahead. The largest farms were in the wire-grass country, but land there was then worth only a few cents an acre, and only about one-twentieth of the farm land was improved. The coast strip led in improved acres per farm (or plantation), but the red hills and red lime lands were not far behind.

The coast strip also had the most valuable farms, and the most machinery, slaves, horses and oxen per farm. It is interesting to note that every region then had more horses than mules, as was the case also in upper Georgia. The red lime lands led in mules and hogs per farm, and the wire-grass (then and long afterward) in sheep. In the last-named region the raising of cattle and sheep on free range in the open pine woods was evidently a much bigger business than tilling the soil, and the same is true of the flat pine lands, except that sheep were not very important there, probably because they do not flourish in swampy regions.

By 1860 the counties of Glascock and Taylor had been created, and those are used to represent the sand-hill belt. Chattahoochee and Quitman Counties were laid out about the same time and much of the red hill part of Stewart cut off, so that those three counties become available for the blue marl region, though they do not represent it very accurately, as already explained. Marion was reduced in size, but still too diversified for our purposes. Clay, Schley and Webster were added to the list of red hill counties, and some of the others reduced in size. Most of the red lime lands portion of Baker County had been put into Calhoun and Dougherty, and those two with Lee and Terrell now

represent the red lime lands pretty well, although Lee differs in some respects, as already explained. The sandy lime-sink region is represented by Baker, Dooly, Early, Miller and Mitchell. Decatur, Johnson, Laurens, Pulaski, Screven, Wilcox and Worth are not used, on account of being partly in the lime-sink region and partly in the rolling wire-grass. To the list of counties for the last-named are now added Berrien, Coffee and Colquitt. Brooks, Lowndes and Thomas represent the hammock belt, but not very accurately, as already explained. To the flat pine lands counties Charlton, Echols and Pierce are added. Part of Appling was transferred to Wayne about this time, necessitating a revision of the areas. Bryan, Camden and Liberty, having most of their area in the pine lands and most of their farms in the coast strip, are not used. The same three counties as before are used for the coast strip, but part of McIntosh seems to have been transferred to Liberty, making a change in area.

The railroad mileage increased considerably between 1850 and 1860. The Augusta branch of the Central R. R. was built, the Southwestern was completed to Oglethorpe in 1851, and later to Columbus and Albany, about fifty miles of the Macon & Brunswick (afterwards the E. T. V. & G., now Southern Ry.) was built, the Brunswick & Albany (now Atlantic Coast Line) was started, and the Atlantic & Gulf (afterwards S. F. & W., now Atlantic Coast Line) had just reached Thomasville.

The cities and towns were growing slowly, and new ones were springing up along the railroads. Along the fall line Augusta had 12,493 inhabitants, Macon 8,247, and Columbus 9,621. In the red hills were Lumpkin with 765 and Oglethorpe 454. In the red lime lands Albany had 1,618 and Morgan (county-seat of Calhoun Co. from its inception until a few months ago) 187. In the lime-sink region the population of Newton was returned as 3,225 and Bainbridge 1,869, but these figures seem excessive (unless steam-

boat traffic on the Flint River was much larger than we now realize) and may represent whole districts. In the hammock belt Valdosta had 166 inhabitants and Troupville, the old county-seat of the same county, 158. Blackshear, in the flat pine lands, had 319. In the coast strip were Savannah, with 22,292 inhabitants, Brunswick, with 825, St. Mary's with 650, and Darien with 570.

Two apparent errors in the census need to be noted. The value of implements and machinery in Early County was returned as $154,170, which seems about three times too much, and should perhaps have been $54,170. In Thomas the number of "other cattle," 166, would be more reasonable if it was multiplied by 100. For these reasons two spaces in the table are left blank, for if the figures were taken literally the results would be preposterous.

The farms increased in size and value between 1850 and 1860, as in upper Georgia, but not as much as the figures appear to indicate, as explained in the previous article. The relative rank of the several regions remained about the same as before. Of the three regions not represented in the 1850 table, the sand hills ranked a little below the state average in density of population, the blue marl region above, and the hammock belt probably also above, if we had the true facts. The two latter had negroes in the majority, like most other fertile regions in the cotton belt. The number of white persons per farm ranged from about 9 to 11, except in the coast strip, where the large city population upsets the calculations.

In value of property per farm most of these regions were far above the United States average, and even above the average for the lower Piedmont, the most prosperous region in upper Georgia. In most of the evidences of wealth either the red lime lands or the coast strip led, in spite of the fact that in the former region the population was practically all rural. That region then produced about four times as much cotton per farm and three times as much per square

TABLE 2.
AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF LOWER GEORGIA, 1860.

	Sand Hills	Blue Marl	Red Hills	Red Lime Lands	Sandy Lime-Sink	Rolling Wire-Grass	Hammock Belt	Flat Pine Lands	Coast Strip
Inhabitants per square mile	16	28	20	21	10	4.2	13	3.7	31
Per cent White	63	45	42	37	48	75	46	73	44
Per cent Free Colored	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	0	0.2	0.1	0.3	1.9
Per cent Slaves	37	55	58	63	52	25	54	27	54
Per cent of Land Improved	22	46	36	33	15	4	15	2.4	8.3
Inhabitants per farm	15	21	22	26	20	11	24	13	95
Improved acres per Inhabitant	8	11	11	11	9	6	7	4	1.7
Average number of Acres per Farm	416	433	612	662	685	985	816	757	885
Average no. Improved Acres per Farm	125	219	250	266	180	65	167	56	161
% Farms with over 100 Acres Improved	36	53	61	57	46	21	50	16	39
Value of Land and Buildings per Farm	2470	3850	4310	7200	4615	1095	4470	1565	11000
Value of Implements and Machinery per Farm	95	170	150	220	.....	62	220	65	415
Value of Live-Stock per Farm	550	960	965	1240	1110	676	1035	631	990
Number of Slaves per Slave-Holder	9.5	12.2	13.6	13.8	14.2	7.2	13.0	7.9	14.4
% Holders with 10 or more	28	37	39	36	41	22	41	27	31
Number of Slaves per Farm	5.0	12.0	12.6	16.5	10.5	2.7	13.0	3.6	50.7
Number of Horses per Farm	3.9	2.0	2.8	2.1	2.5	2.2	2.3	1.8	3.2
Number of Mules per Farm	1.8	3.5	3.0	4.7	2.6	0.5	2.7	0.6	1.8
Number of Work Oxen per Farm	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.3	0.7	1.0	0.3	1.6
Number of Milch Cows per Farm	4.2	5.2	5.0	7.2	8.7	12.8	11.6	11.9	13.8
Number of Other Cattle per Farm	9.3	9.1	11.7	16.0	24.0	28.9	.....	32.3	33.6
Number of Sheep per Farm	3.4	3.3	6.6	5.5	14.2	26.8	14.3	7.4	9.7
Number of Swine per Farm	36	44	54	67	52	49	68	51	35
Value of Animals Slaughtered per Farm	210	235	282	310	255	153	305	152	95
Value of Animals Slaughtered per sq. mile	240	315	261	245	135	60	175	42	32
Bales of Cotton (1859) per Farm	12.0	35.5	28.8	45.5	24.5	2.0	14.0	1.2	5.5
Bales of Cotton (1859) per sq. mile	13.7	47.5	26.6	36.0	13.4	0.8	8.0	0.3	2.0
Bushels of Corn (1859) per Farm	450	730	826	1040	720	276	768	281	414
Bushels of Corn (1859) per sq. mile	515	990	765	830	390	108	435	77	140

mile as the state average, and more corn per farm than the great corn-belt states of Illinois and Iowa.

The red lands and coast strip had more slave-holders than farms, which in the former case at least indicates that practically every farmer owned slaves. This may have been true in the latter also, but we have no way of knowing just how many of the slave-holders lived in Savannah and had slaves only for domestic service. In the wire-grass and flat pine lands evidently most of the farmers got along without any slaves, and the same was probably true in the sand hills too.

Mules now outnumbered horses in some of the more fertile regions, doubtless on account of the diminishing free range, as explained in the article on upper Georgia. The wire-grass region led in sheep, as before, and the hammock belt in hogs. Hogs were more numerous than people except in the coast region (and they may have been there too, outside of the cities).

Between 1860 and 1870 the Civil War caused some profound changes, but, as was stated in the previous article, it seems fair to assume that very few negroes were operating farms in 1870, and to interpret the statistics accordingly, except in the coast strip, which will be referred to more particularly farther on.

The counties were the same in 1870 as in 1860, but the railroads had been extended a little and several new towns had sprung up. The Atlantic & Gulf R. R. (now Atlantic Coast Line) was completed to Bainbridge soon after the war, and branches built from Thomasville to Albany and from near Dupont southward into Florida. The Southwestern was pushing westward from Albany, and the Brunswick & Albany was nearing completion.

The principal cities and towns were as follows:-

Along the fall line, Augusta with 15,389 inhabitants, Macon, with 10,810, and Columbus, with 7,401.

In the blue marl region, Georgetown 263, Cusseta 216.

In the red hills, Americus, 3,259, Cuthbert 2,210, Fort Valley 1,333, Perry 836, Lumpkin 778, Fort Gaines 758, Buena Vista 525, and several smaller.

In the red lime lands, Albany 2,101, Morgan 126.

In the lime-sink region, Bainbridge 1,351, Hawkinsville 813, and a few under 300.

In the rolling wire-grass country, Swainsboro had 108 inhabitants, and no other place over 100.

In the flat pine lands, Blackshear, 490.

In the coast strip, Savannah, 28,235, Brunswick 2,348, St. Mary's 702, Darien 547.

Every region in South Georgia showed a moderate increase in population during the decade, but this was more among the negroes than among the whites, in spite of the fact that the former are thought to have been counted less completely than usual in 1870. The improved land increased a little except in the red hills, flat pine lands and coast strip, but the number of farms increased more, making them smaller except in the blue marl region and red lime lands, which remained about the same in that respect. The great decrease in average farm size in the coast strip (to about one-fourth in both total and improved acreage) strongly suggests that many negroes must have become farm proprietors there soon after emancipation; and this is corroborated by the fact that ever since white and negro farmers have been separated by the census there have been more negro owners than tenants in that region.

The value of property per farm in most regions dropped to less than half of what it was before the war, in spite of being measured in the inflated currency of 1870. Mules now outnumbered horses in every region except the two poorest. Cattle, sheep and hogs, especially the later, diminished considerably during the war, as would be expected.

Wages paid to farm laborers is an item which appears for the first time in the returns for 1870, and it is natural that the expenditure per farm should be lowest in the poorest

TABLE 3.
AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF LOWER GEORGIA, 1870.

	Sand Hills	Blue Marl	Red Hills	Red Lime Lands	Sandy Lime-Sink	Rolling Wire-Grass	Hammock Belt	Flat Pine Lands	Coast Strip
Inhabitants per square mile	19	31	23	28	13	4.8	19	4.0	40
Per cent White	62	39	37	27	47	76	46	75	39
Per cent Colored	38	61	63	73	53	24	54	25	61
Per cent of Land Improved	23	49	31	34	16	4.1	21	2.2	6.0
Number of Inhabitants per Farm	13	22	18	37	20	9.7	17	13	43
Improved Acres per Inhabitant	7.7	10.2	8.4	7.9	7.7	5.4	7.1	3.6	1.0
Average Number of Acres per Farm	325	435	374	635	465	729	460	628	240
Average Number Improved Acres per Farm	103	220	153	283	160	53	120	46	41
Value of Land and Buildings per Farm	1060	2575	1670	3940	1675	408	1490	407	2390
Value of Implements and Machinery per Farm	70	110	87	160	75	42	75	40	115
Value of Live-Stock, per Farm	420	660	517	1050	600	567	526	535	270
Number of Horses per Farm	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.0	1.2	0.5
Number of Mules per Farm	1.1	2.9	1.9	4.9	2.0	0.5	1.5	0.5	0.7
Number of Work Oxen per Farm	0.9	0.8	0.7	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.3
Number of Milch Cows per Farm	2.6	3.0	2.7	3.9	5.4	9.0	4.8	10.5	3.0
Number of Other Cattle per Farm	5.4	5.4	5.2	7.6	11.2	21.6	10.3	21.3	4.0
Number of Sheep per Farm	2.8	1.6	2.6	3.3	10.0	24.2	9.6	6.2	0.9
Number of Swine per Farm	14	14	15	17	21	29	21	31	6.0
Value of Animals Slaughtered per Farm	153	66	96	150	80	118	145	112	25
Value of all Products, per Farm	1430	2325	1716	3745	1635	614	1260	545	1520
Wages Paid, Including Board, per Farm	265	840	470	1325	395	45	235	68	140
Bales of Cotton Produced, per Farm	6.5	19.5	11.0	35.0	12.0	1.3	7.0	1.1	0.4
Bushels of Corn Produced per Farm	235	406	312	655	410	155	320	162	75

regions, where the farmers were mostly poor whites who never owned slaves and were accustomed to doing their own work. The great difference in this respect between the red lime lands and the coast strip, both of which had a large negro majority, suggests again that nearly all the negro men in the former were hired laborers, while in the latter many must have had their own little farms. The red lime lands were leading in corn and cotton per farm, as before.

Before 1880 the Macon & Augusta R. R. (now a part of the Georgia), which had been started before the war, was completed, making the sand hills more accessible. The Macon & Brunswick and Brunswick & Western were completed, and two short lines connecting Louisville and Sandersville with the nearest points on the Central R. R. were built.

Most of the cities and towns were growing as usual, though there were some exceptions. The three fall line cities maintained about the same relative rank. In the sand hills were Geneva, with 254 inhabitants, and Gibson, with 123. In the blue marl region, Georgetown 245, Cusseta 166, both a little less than in 1870. In the red hills Americus had 3,635, Cuthbert 2,129, Sandersville 1,279, Fort Valley 1,277, Waynesboro 1,008, Perry 929, Fort Gaines 867, Lumpkin 747, Marshallville 543, Buena Vista 529. In the red lime lands, Albany 3,216, Dawson 1,576, Leesburg 359, Smithville 329. In the lime-sink region, Hawkinsville 1,542, Bainbridge 1,436, Cochran 836, Camilla 672, Dublin 574. In the rolling wire-grass country were Sylvania 314, Wrightsville 272, Swainsboro 186, and a few smaller ones. In the hammock belt, Thomasville 2,555, Valdosta 1,515, Quitman 1,400, Boston 366. In the flat pine lands, Blackshear 778, Jesup 562, Homerville 201. In the coast strip, Savannah 30,709, Brunswick 2,891.

The only county change in South Georgia between 1870 and 1880 was the cutting off of Dodge from Pulaski, which released Pulaski for use in the statistics of the lime-sink region.

TABLE 4.
AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF LOWER GEORGIA, 1879-80.

	Sand Hills	Blue Marl	Red Hills	Red Lime Lands	Sandy Lime-Sink	Rolling Wire-Grass	Hammock Belt	Flat Pine Lands	Coast Strip
Inhabitants per square mile	24	30	29	32	19	7.0	26	*6.1*	45
Per cent White	60	34	36	*25*	44	74	44	70	36
Per cent Colored	40	66	64	75	56	*26*	56	30	64
Per cent of Land Improved	24	36	35	38	23	5.0	22	*3.2*	4.9
Number of Inhabitants per Farm	11	16	11	14	10	9.4	12	11	32
Improved Acres per Inhabitant	6.3	7.6	7.8	7.5	7.8	4.6	5.3	3.2	*0.6*
% of Farms Operated by Owners	62	56	42	*35*	49	89	61	87	51
% by Cash Tenants (Renters)	23	17	23	24	32	3.6	15	*4.3*	40
% by Share Tenants (Croppers)	15	27	35	41	19	*7.5*	24	9.0	9.4
Average Number of Acres per Farm	212	290	189	206	209	540	245	489	*115*
Average Number of Improved Acres per Farm	73	118	87	99	80	42	65	37	*20*
Value of Land and Buildings per Farm	750	1060	875	753	749	589	855	*528*	1015
Value of Implements and Machinery per Farm	36	57	43	52	34	*32*	47	35	51
Value of Live-Stock, per Farm	182	268	202	208	228	353	224	334	*138*
Number of Horses per Farm	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.7	1.1	0.8	1.0	0.5
Number of Mules per Farm	1.2	1.9	1.2	1.6	1.0	0.5	0.9	0.4	0.4
Number of Work Oxen per Farm	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.4
Number of Milch Cows per Farm	3.1	2.4	*1.7*	2.2	3.3	7.2	3.6	8.2	2.2
Number of Other Cattle per Farm	4.6	4.1	3.1	3.7	5.6	15.5	7.0	17.1	3.0
Number of Sheep per Farm	1.7	1.0	1.2	1.0	5.1	26.6	4.2	8.5	*0.9*
Number of Swine per Farm	14	13	13	10	14	25	14	24	*6*
Number of Chickens per Farm	14	24	15	15	17	22	18	16	*11*
Number of Other Poultry	5.6	10.1	7.2	1.9	4.5	13.5	8.8	9.9	3.0
Cost of Fertilizers (1879) per Farm	44	23	45	20	30	31	26	9.00	*2.65*
Value of Products (1879) per Farm	555	910	643	650	575	348	465	*276*	589
Cost of Fertilizer per Improved Acre	.61	.19	.25	.20	.39	.70	.40	.24	*.12*
Value of Products per Improved Acre	7.65	7.72	7.43	*6.53*	7.15	8.00	7.23	7.45	28.20
% of Improved Land in Cotton	33	39	38	42	37	15	33	9.2	*1.8*
% of Improved Land in Corn	35	28	32	28	33	37	34	34	*17*
% of Improved Land in Oats	4.1	5.1	4.5	5.0	8.5	17.6	18.8	14.4	*3.0*
% of Improved Land in Sweet Potatoes	0.7	0.9	*0.5*	0.7	0.9	1.8	1.5	2.4	4.1
Bales of Cotton per Acre	0.29	0.29	0.30	0.24	*0.23*	0.35	0.27	0.29	0.27
Bushels of Corn per Acre	6.6	5.8	6.7	6.1	*5.1*	8.4	7.0	8.2	12.0
Bushels of Oats per Acre	11.0	10.6	9.7	7.8	8.3	8.7	10.1	7.9	13.2
Bushels of Sweet Potatoes per Acre	80	*56*	87	58	73	116	64	101	75

On comparing the 1880 figures with those for 1870 we find a moderate increase of population in every region except the blue marl. In the two poorest regions the increase was about 50%, probably on acount of the use of commercial fertilizers, which had just become important enough for the census to take cognizance of, and made it possible to cultivate some poor soils with profit. The negroes seem to have increased a little faster than the whites in every region, but that may be due partly to the supposed incomplete enumeration in 1870.

The percentage of improved land increased, except in the blue marl region and coast strip. Tenure of farms is now given for the first time, and the percentage of owners is largest in the two or three poorest regions,partly on account of the predominance of white farmers and partly on acount of the cheapness of the land, which made it easy for anybody to own a farm. The great decrease in the average size and value of farms, especially in the regions with large negro population, indicates plainly that the freedmen were rapidly setting up in business for themselves. For this reason the remaining per farm statistics do not mean much, as noted in the previous article.

Fertilizers are now returned for the first time, and the most extensive use of them was in the rolling wire-grass country, which had the largest proportion of intelligent white farmers, and the least in the coast strip; and this is reflected in the yield of cotton per acre, which now begins to have little connection with the natural fertility of the soil. The yield of all crops per acre does not seem to be affected much by the racial composition of the farm population, and indicates intensity of farming more than anything else, as will be illustrated better when we come to later censuses, that give more complete data on farm expenditures and receipts.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EIGHTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING.

Savannah, Ga., April 12, 1922.

The eighty-third annual meeting of the Georgia Historical Society, adjourned over from February 12th, was held at Hodgson Hall at 10 o'clock, a. m., this day with Judge Andrew J. Cobb in the chair. Besides a number of citizens of the city of Savannah there were present members from Athens, Macon, Reidsville, Thomasville and Homerville.

The program for the morning session was as follows:

President's Address—

Judge Andrew J. Cobb, of Athens.

"Edward Langworthy and the First Attempt to Write a Separate History of Georgia; with Selections from the Long-Lost Langworthy Papers"—

Leonard L. Mackall, of Savannah.

"The Activities of the Missionaries Among the Cherokees"

Linton M. Collins, of Reidsville.

"The Georgia Historical Society and the Teacher"—

Prof. Percy Scott Flippin, of Macon.

"The Georgia Historical Quarterly"—

Prof. R. P. Brooks, of Athens.

The President's address was a distinctive feature of the session.

Mr. Leonard L. Mackall's paper was a thoughtful and scholarly effort. The paper in its completed form will appear in one of the early issues of the Quarterly.

Mr. Linton M. Collins' paper proved of unusual interest and was greatly enjoyed.

The subjects assigned to Dr. Brooks and Dr. Flippin were not treated in a formal way with prepared papers or addresses. They were presented as discussions along practical lines as to methods of creating an increased interest in the Society and the Quarterly and in historical research.

Dr. Flippin stated that there are only forty-two educators in Georgia, including heads of educational institutions, departmental heads and specialists, who are members of the Georgia Historical Society and that of this number only fifteen are teachers of history. Practically none are connected with high schools or preparatory schools. Probably not more than four or five take an active interest in the Quarterly. Dr. Brooks continued the subject, stating that in the publication of the Quarterly there are two important units requiring thought and attention, namely, the financial question and then the question of talent and material. Our state is, historically speaking, virgin territory. In Virginia, North Carolina and Texas the historical output exceeds ours many fold. Why is this so? Primarily because in those states the historical departments of the State universities and other colleges are far better manned. They have more professors, men better trained, the salaries are larger, the library facilities are infinitely more extensive and the professors have more leisure for historical work. The remarks of Drs. Flippin and Brooks brought forth comments from Messrs. Minis, Gordon, Mrs. Lawton, Mr. Lawton and Mr. Ashmore. Mr. Minis stressed the matter of nonpayment of dues by members and expressed his opinion that because of lack of financial support it would be difficult to continue the magazine as a quarterly. Mr. Gordon spoke to the effect that the magazine could be made more attractive by encouraging contributors. He thought that financial remuneration should be offered to contributors. He thought that both Dr. Flippin and Dr. Brooks had narrowed the

home of historical talent when they restricted the writers to those connected with colleges and universities. He mentioned the names of members of the legal profession well qualified to produce articles on historical subjects. Dr. Flippin said that he had met with practically no encouragement from the lawyers. He said that he had made an earnest effort to secure articles of merit from certain lawyers but that the lack of responses had greatly discouraged him. Mr. Lawton briefly reviewed the steps leading up to the merger of the Georgia Historical Association with the Georgia Historical Society and said that a greater Statewide interest was needed in the Society and to create and continue this interest he hoped ways and means would be found to continue the publication of the Quarterly. He thought a good membership committee was needed to aid in this work. Mrs. Lawton thought that if the membership fees were made $1 it might help the financial situation. Dr. Brooks was of the opinion that in addition to the efforts to increase the members of the $3 class a special effort should be made to secure forty or fifty sustaining members paying dues of $25 a year. It was pointed out that the Society has but one sustaining member at this time. It was recognized that fifty sustaining members whose dues would be devoted exclusively to the expenses of maintaining the Quarterly would solve the questions connected with the publication of the Quarterly. Mr. Ashmore thought that if it were found impracticable to secure such a number of sustaining members he would favor making the magazine an annual. It was finally resolved to refer the question to the Board of Curators with full power to act.

The Chairman of the Finance Committee submitted the Annual Report of the Treasurer, which was ordered filed. The Treasurer's report shows a balance of cash at April 1, 1922, of $1,401.05, and ownership of Liberty Bonds of the par value of $2,000. The Society also owns Hodgson Hall and the property on which it is located on the southwest cor-

ner of Gaston and Whitaker Streets, in Savannah. Insurance is carried on the building in the value of $27,000, and on the contents for $15,000. In this connection attention was called to a list prepared by the Treasurer showing approximately 264 names of members who are in arrears for more than two years. On motion duly seconded, the list was referred to the Board of Curators for action.

The Secretary submitted a statement showing members as at April 1, 1922, as follows:

Life members	5
Active members of various classes	566
Total	571
Members on suspended list because of being delinquent in the payment of dues	264
Corresponding members	5
Honorary members	5
Total	845

The active members in good standing are classified as follows:

Sustaining	1 @ $25	$ 25.	
Contributing	37 @ $10	370.	
Members	528 @ $3	1,584.	$1,979.

The Librarian's report was read to the Society by Mr. William Harden, the Librarian.

Savannah, Ga., 12th April, 1922.

To the Board of Curators of the Georgia Historical Society.
Gentlemen:

Once more it is my duty and privilege to submit the Librarian's report.

One year ago it appeared that the Library contained 40,753 books and 26,000 pamphlets. In the twelve months just closed additions have been made to the collection of

bound volumes amounting to 365, making a total of 41, 116, and to the pamphlets 2,215, swelling that department to the number of 28,215.

It is gratifying to note that our members have used the Library more freely than in the past several years. While this is true, I would suggest something be done, if possible, to extend its usefulness by the purchase of some of the recently published books which are being called for, but which we have not been able to supply. Even a few hundred dollars could be well spent at this time in securing certain historical and genealogical works specially sought for.

Since our last meeting we have received as a gift from the surviving members of the Wadley family the fine marble bust of the late Mr. William Wadley, for years the President of the Central Railroad and Banking Company of Georgia, now known as the Central of Georgia Railway Company. It is the work of the noted sculptor Robert Cushing and is a perfect likeness.

The flag presented to the Savannah Home Guard, and used by that organization during the great World War, was given to us by its members, through its commanding officer, Col. Beirne Gordon, and it is now in our hall.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM HARDEN,
Librarian.

Announcement was made by the President of the appointment of Messrs. Alexander R. Lawton, Wm. W. Gordon, Dr. P. S. Flippin and Dr. R. P. Brooks as a committee to nominate five curators to succeed those whose terms ex pired with this meeting.

Mr. Folks Huxford, of Homerville, Ga., presented to the Society a copy of the first number of the South Georgia Genealogical and Historical Quarterly and also a copy of his pamphlet containing a history of Clinch County.

The following resolution, proposed by Dr. Brooks, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Society in annual session convened expresses to Mr. Otis Ashmore its sincere appreciation of his long and capable services as Corresponding Secretary, and also as Secretary-Treasurer, and its regret that he has been forced on account of his health to retire from the position.

Mr. Ashmore was present, and expressed his deep appreciation.

The following new members were unanimously elected: Miss Nina Pape, Savannah, Ga., Miss Annie C Johnson, Savannah, Ga., S. P. Driscoll Savannah, Ga., George M. Weitman, Savannah, Ga., Major James A. Fort, Jr., Americus, Ga., George M. Battey, Jr., Atlanta, Ga.

At this point the Nominating Committee reported their recommendations for five curators to serve until 1925 as follows:

Mrs. Alexander R. Lawton, Mrs. Gordon Saussy, Mr. Otis Ashmore, Mr. Henry R. Goetchius, Judge Andrew J. Cobb.

There were no other nominations and by unanimous vote of the meeting the rules were suspended and the Secretary was authorized to cast the ballot for the election as per the report of the Nominating Committee. This was done and the President declared the ticket recommended by the Nominating Committee duly elected Curators of the Society to serve until 1925, or until election and qualification of their successors.

Mr. Alexander R. Lawton offered the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, it has now been established that Dr. Crawford W. Long first used ether in performing a surgical operation on the 30th day of March, 1842, thereby producing a perfect state of anaesthesia and rendering the operation painless;

And, whereas, due credit should be given him for this priority in a discovery that has done so much for the relief of human suffering; and whereas his claim to

such priority has been recognized by the General Assembly of this state, by medical associations, writers in medical magazines, histories, and universities, especially by the University of Georgia and the University of Pennsylvania, he being an alumnus of each of these institutions.

Therefore be it resolved, by the Georgia Historical Society.

That Dr. Crawford W. Long has earned and deserves appropriate recognition by all who are interested in the preservation of accurate history and the fame of those who have added to the welfare of mankind.

That a copy of this resolution be transmitted by the secretary to the Governor of this state and the director of the Hall of Fame, of New York University.

The letters acknowledging the receipt of this resolution by the Governor of Georgia and the Director of the Hall of Fame, are published in this number of the Quarterly

Mr. J. Florance Minis presented the Society with a rare stone implement found by a farmer in the Nacoochee Valley. Mr. Minis stated that he had the implement examined by various scientific institutions but that none of them could identify it.. The Smithsonian Institute's representative expressed the belief that it belonged to the stone age. A vote of thanks was given to Mr. Minis for his generous gift.

The meeting then adjourned for luncheon at the DeSoto Hotel, and at 3 p. m., through the courtesy of Mr. Wymberley DeRenne, a visit was made to the Wymberley Jones DeRenne Library at Wormslee. The visit was greatly enjoyed and there were expressions of appreciation from all because of the courtesy of Mr. DeRenne.

CHAS. F. GROVES,
Secretary.

Immediately following adjournment of the morning session of the eighty-third annual meeting of the Georgia Historical Society, this day the Curators convened.

Present: Judge Andrew J. Cobb, Mr. Otis Ashmore, Dr. R. P. Brooks, Dr. P. S. Flippin, Mrs. Alexander R. Lawton, Mr. J. Florance Minis, Mr. William W. Gordon.

Absent: Mr. Henry R. Goetchius, Judge Beverly D. Evans, Mr. Lawton Evans, Mr. Alexander C. King, Mr. T. M. Cunningham, Jr., Mr. A. C. Newell, Mr. Orville A. Park, Mrs. Gordon Saussy.

Judge Andrew J. Cobb was called to the chair and Charles F. Groves was named to act as Secretary of the meeting.

The meeting considered the suggestion made by C. Seymour Thompson, of the Savannah Public Library, for the loan of the Georgia Historical Society to the Public Library of certain books. There was some difference of opinion as to what disposition should be made of Mr. Thompson's suggestion, and upon motion of Mr. Gordon, duly seconded, it was resolved to ask Mr. Thompson to submit his plan in writing to the Board of Curators.

The Treasurer was authorized to transfer from the General Fund to the Publication Fund such sums of money as might be necessary to meet the expense of getting out the next three issues of the Quarterly.

The Treasurer was authorized to pay the expenses of Dr. R. P. Brooks during the coming summer while traveling over the State for the purpose of endeavoring to secure about fifty or more sustaining members (dues $25 a year). It was further resolved that the dues of sustaining members be credited to the Publication Fund.

Mrs. Lawton was named as chairman of a special committee on membership for the purpose of undertaking to secure new members through some of the well known patriotic organizations such as the Colonial Dames. She was given full power to name the members of her committee. She

stated that she preferred a small committee and named Mrs. Gordon Saussy as her assistant. .

The next business was the consideration of the "suspended list" containing the names of about 264 members who have not paid their dues for more than two years. The Secretary was given authority to employ a collector on a 15% commission basis for the purpose of approaching all those persons whose names appeared on the suspended list with a proposition that such members would be left in good standing as members in the Society upon the payment of the current year's dues. Failing in collections as indicated herein, the Secretary was instructed to drop the names from the rolls.

The next order of business was the election of officers. It having been made known that Judge Cobb did not care to stand for re-election, Dr. Brooks put in nomination the name of Judge Beverly D. Evans, of Savannah. The nomination was duly seconded and upon the motion being put, Judge Evans was unanimously elected President to serve during the ensuing year. The following officers were also unanimously elected for the ensuing year:

Senior Vice-President, J. Florance Minis, Savannah, Vice-President, Otis Ashmore, Savannah, Vice-President, Alex C. King, Atlanta, Vice-President, Lawton B. Evans, Augusta, Secretary-Treasurer, Charles F. Groves, Savannah, Librarian, William Harden, Savannah.

The office of Corresponding Secretary was left vacant for the present.

The Board of Editors elected follows:

Robert Preston Brooks, University of Georgia, Ellis Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, Cleo Hearon, Agnes Scott College, Percy Scott Flippin, Mercer University, Charles Seymour Thompson, Savannah Public Library, Leonard L. Mackall, Savannah.

Adjourned.

CHARLES F. GROVES,
Secretary.

STATE OF GEORGIA

Executive Department

Atlanta,

April 25, 1922.

Mr. Chas. F. Groves, Secretary,
Georgia Historical Society,
Savannah, Ga.

My dear sir:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of resolution adopted by the Georgia Historical Society at its eighty-third annual meeting held in Savannah, April 17, 1922.

I thank you for your kindness in this matter.

Yours very truly,
Thos. W. Hardwick,
Governor

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
HALL OF FAME
Robert Underwood Johnson, Director.

May 2, 1922.

Charles F. Groves, Esq.,
Secretary of the Georgia Historical Society,
Savannah, Ga.

Dear Sir:-

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your note of the 22nd of April, accompanying the resolution of your Society adopted on the 12th of April, concerning Dr. Crawford W. Long's relationship to the discovery of anaesthesia. This resolution will be placed in the archives of the Hall of Fame in conjunction with other data relating to Dr. Long's services.

Very sincerely yours,
R. U. Johnson,
Director.

BEVERLY DANIEL EVANS

ORVILLE A. PARK

About the year 1736, a number of Welsh families settled on Cat Fish Creek in what is now Marion County, South Carolina, the locality becoming known as the "Welsh Neck." These emigrants were Baptists. Like the Puritans of Massachusetts, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Salsburgers of Georgia, they came to America in order to enjoy a greater measure of religious liberty, to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. They were a sturdy and a liberty loving folk. At the outbreak of the Revolution, the little church on Cat Fish Creek numbered two hundred and twenty male members. At its close, there were only forty-eight, so great had been the sacrifice for the patriot cause.

One of these Welsh pioneers was Nathan Evans of the ancient and numerous family of the name which is said to boast more than twenty coats of arms. He gave to the Continental Army a son, Captain David Evans. A grandson, William Evans, became a Brigadier-General of South Carolina Militia. General Nathan G. Evans, a distinguished and gallant Confederate Brigadier, the father of Governor John Gary Evans of South Carolina, was a great-grandson.

Another grandson, Thomas Evans, had the unique distinction of serving twenty consecutive years in the Senate of South Carolina. Thomas married Jane Beverly Daniel, descended from the Daniels of Virginia. Their son was given his mother's family name, Beverly Daniel.

Leaving the ancestral home in Marion County, S. C., Beverly Daniel Evans (the first) came to Georgia in 1852, then a young man of twenty-six, and settled at Sandersville, Washington County. Two years later he was admitted to

the Georgia Bar in Dublin. Opening an office in Sandersville, he continued in the practice of his profession for nearly half a century, interrupted only by the war between the States when for four years he wore the uniform, endured the hardships and won the glory of a Confederate soldier. He entered the service as a lieutenant of the First Georgia Infantry. On the reorganization of the Regiment, he raised a company and became its Captain. Later he was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Regiment of State Troops.

In the midst of war's alarms and not long before Sherman, on his boasted "march to the sea," left as a monument of his triumphant progress the charred and crumbling walls of the Washington County Court House, Col. Evans was united in marriage to Miss Sarah Smith of Sandersville, a member of an excellent North Carolina family, a true daughter of the old South, beautiful, well educated, cultured, deeply pious and given to hospitality.

The war was scarcely over and the soldier had but returned to the desolated town in which he had left his bride when their hearts were gladdened on May 21, 1865, by the coming of the first born son, who was named Beverly Daniel for his father.

Young Beverly grew up in the little middle Georgia town of Sandersville, his life being in all respects similar to that of other boys reared in the small towns of the South under the post war conditions then prevailing, but with the inestimable advantage of a cultured, refined and religious home. His early education was obtained in the schools of his native town and while the advantages were no more than the average for the time, his bright mind, retentive memory and remarkable application enabled him to fit himself for college at a very early age. He matriculated as a sophomore in Mercer University in 1878, and in 1881, at sixteen, he was graduated with the A. B. degree. A classmate, Dr. Jno. F. Eden, says of him: "In the class room and in college life generally, he was always quiet, steady loyal and gener-

ous," thus early exhibiting those splendid traits of character, so noteworthy in his after life, both public and private. The year after his graduation his Alma Mater conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

Finishing his collegiate education, he at once began his preparation for the bar, entering his father's office as student and clerk. He completed his professional studies at Yale in 1884, and while his stay at the University was not of sufficient duration to entitle him to a diploma, his standing was so high that he was admitted to the Georgia Bar without examination by Judge Thos. J. Simmons, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The firm of B. D. Evans and Son was formed at once and continued (subsequently enlarged to admit two other sons, George C., and A. W. Evans) until the death of the senior partner in 1897. This firm was one of the best known and most successful in that section of Georgia, enjoying a large and varied practice in the counties composing the Middle Circuit and appearing on one side or the other of almost every important case in Washington Superior Court.

Political and professional honors came to the young lawyer from the very beginning of his career. At twenty-one, he sat as the representative from the good county of Washington in the General Assembly of Georgia, where he acquitted himself with credit and rendered excellent service to his constituents. He was the first Georgian born after the War to be given a seat in the Legislature. In 1892, he was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention which nominated Grover Cleveland for the Presidency.

For six years, he served as Solicitor General of the Middle Circuit, having been elected in 1891 when he had just reached the minimum age required, twenty-five years. He discharged the duties of this important office with conspicuous fidelity and marked ability.

From the Solicitorship, he was chosen as Judge of the Circuit and then truly his life's work may be said to have

begun; for, while in the contests at the bar he was foeman worthy of any antagonist's steel, his talents and the bent of his mind were judicial rather than forensic. He loved justice. His mind quickly and easily saw both sides of a controversy and no one could weigh them more accurately in the delicately poised scales of justice.

The Middle Circuit at that time was composed of seven counties and was one of the most populous and important in the State. Judge Evans rode the Circuit to the entire satisfaction of the bar and people. He presided with an easy grace and dignity which preserved the respect due the Court yet attracted all those who had business in the tribunals where he sat. He dispatched business rapidly but not hurriedly. He maintained and inculcated a respect for law. His decisions were fair and impartial. His charges clear and forceful. During his occupancy of the Circuit bench, he was frequently called on by his brother judges to preside for them in other circuits. Probably no judge in Georgia ever held the Superior Court in so many counties or did so with more acceptability to lawyers and litigants, jurors, and the people at large of those counties.

While always courteous, cordial and democratic, Judge Evans held the judicial office in high esteem and resolved not to cheapen it or render it commonplace. He, therefore, repelled familiarity, did not frequent the corner store, hotel lobby or other places of general resort by the men about town and spent his leisure in reading and study. His reading took a wide range and at this period he acquired that large store of information which stood him well in hand in his busy and useful later career.

Judge Evans was interested in the history of Georgia and the lives of her great men. While Judge of the Middle Circuit, he wrote a biography of Governor Jared Irvin, whose monument, the only one wholly erected with State funds, stands in the court house square in Sandersville. After the manuscript of this biography had been completed

and while he was arranging for its publication, it was burned in a fire which destroyed his home. This proved an irreparable loss as its author never found time to reproduce it and much of the source material also was destroyed. This was particularly unfortunate as no adequate life of this great Georgian or satisfactory history of the stirring times in which he lived has been written. He also wrote at this time an account of the notorious "Yazoo Fraud," that earliest and greatest stain on Georgia's name. This was published in a magazine, attracting considerable attention.

But Judge Evans was not content with the bench of the Superior Court. He was ambitious for the highest judicial station. He had announced his intention of becoming a candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia when the unexpected retirement of Mr. Justice Henry G. Turner afforded the opportunity for the gratification of his ambition by appointment which was made by Governor Joseph M. Terrell on April 1, 1904, he being the youngest Justice save one, Linton Stephens, who ever sat on the Supreme bench of Georgia. Though only thirty-eight, he was eminently qualified for the exalted station to which he had been appointed and which he held by successive elections until his resignation on August 31st, 1917. Andrew J. Cobb, Presiding Justice of the Second Division of the Supreme Court resigning on October 12th, 1907, Justice Evans succeeded him in this the second highest judicial office of the State, the Chief Justice alone holding higher rank.

The Supreme Court, while Justice Evans was a member of it, was greatly overworked deciding an average of one thousand cases each year, a greater number than any other Appellate Court with an equal number of Judges in the entire Union. Justice Evans did his full share of this arduous and most important work, writing more than two thousand opinions and participating in the decision of many thousands of other cases appearing in the 119th to 147th Georgia Reports. His opinions, though of necessity hastily

prepared without sufficient time or opportunity for that mature consideration, study and investigation so necessary for work of that character, most of them delivered with but little revision, are yet remarkable judicial utterances; logical, forceful, lucid, and convincing; couched in pure English; written in an easy, pleasing style and well supported by authority. They easily take rank among the best of those handed down by any of the great judges who have shed luster upon the Georgia Court.

Judge Andrew J. Cobb, his predecessor as Presiding Justice, says of his opinions: "One reads after him with profit and is impressed with the accuracy of his legal instinct, the honesty of his mind and the lucid expression of his thought." His succesor, Presiding Justice Marcus W. Beck, who was a member of the Court during almost the entire period of Judge Evans' incumbency, gives this picture of him as an Appellate Judge: "He worked with great facility. Few Judges grasped the question presented by a record more quickly or more thoroughly, and laying hold firmly upon the questions at issue, he generally made an admirable presentation of them in the statement of facts which preceded his opinion. In practically all of the official statements in his cases, he made the statement exactly as it appears in the Georgia Reports, and he usually wrote it out in long hand. He wrote a great majority of his opinions in long hand. Of course, this method of writing out his statements of facts and his opinions entailed a burden upon him but he did not shirk it but voluntarily undertook it for the sake of additional clearness and directness both in the statement of facts and the exprsesion of his views on the questions of law involved. The facility and ease with which he worked is accounted for partly by the fact of his having a splendid memory. He remembered well and accurately, not only the rulings but the reasoning in nearly all our Georgia cases of any importance. He went further; he remembered the names of the parties to the case, the Judge who wrote the

opinion and in the more important cases, the volume in which they were published. In a minutes time, he could turn to almost any case in the Georgia Reports which it was desirable to consult. Another trait of his judicial character was his readiness to recede from the conclusion that he had reached, whenever by reason or upon authority he was convinced that his conclusions were unsound. Few judges, considering the time that he had to devote to his opinions, were more careful or painstaking in searching out, weighing and considering the reasons and authorities pertinent to the issues in hand and which should incline the investigator after truth to one conclusion or another. He brought to this examination great diligence and sound judgment but after all this painstaking and toil expended in reaching the conclusion and the preparation of his opinion, he had no such pride in that opinion as would cause him to adhere to it for a moment after he was shown that it was not sound."

The exacting duties of his position left but little time for anything save his judicial work, but while living in Atlanta as a member of the Supreme Court, Judge Evans and a few other choice spirits organized the "Ten Club" (the membership at first being limited to ten) each member of which was expected once each year to prepare a paper to be read at the monthly meetings which was to form the topic for discussion at the meeting. His papers prepared for this club, several of which have been published, were of the highest order, showing his broad culture, wide reading and excellent literary style.

Next to his judicial work, and nearer to his heart even than that, his class of boys in the Sunday School of the Second Baptist Church, Atlanta, occupied his time and thought. He was most assiduous in his endeavor to build up this class, and he sought material upon the high-ways and in the hedges. Many a ragged urchin became a member of this class and attended it regularly. The class grew to more than fifty. Many of the boys would sell newspapers

on the street up to the Sunday School hour and then report at the class. His interest in the members of this class never failed. He gripped them strongly. Many became members of the Church and have grown to be useful citizens. He was a deacon of the Second Baptist Church and identified with all its work.

Having been tendered by President Wilson the appointment as Judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Georgia, Judge Evans resigned as Presiding Justice of the Supreme Court on August 31, 1917. The following day he took the oath and assumed the office of a Federal Judge. His judicial residence was fixed at Savannah to which city he very soon removed. For this new office to which he was appointed, he was pre-eminently well furnished. He had been a successful lawyer; a vigorous, fearless but just prosecuting officer; a well poised, impartial Circuit Judge; and his service on the Supreme bench had given him a learning in the law, a familiarity with precedents, a power of analysis, and a facility of expression rarely attained.

At the time of his appointment, the country was in the midst of the Great War and the courts of the Union were called upon to render most important service to the government in the enforcement of the numerous laws designed to protect the country from enemies within and to enable it to mobilize its resources of men and material to meet the enemy across the seas. Judge Evans threw himself wholeheartedly and without reservation into this work, upholding the hands of the government in every way befitting his station and availing himself of every opportunity both as a Judge and as a private citizen to serve and to inculcate those principles of patriotism and love of country which ever actuated him.

Not only did he give to the country's service the best that was in him but he gave also a well beloved son, Beverly D. Evans, Jr., First Lieutenant of Company D, 20th Machine

Gun Batallion attached to the 13th Brigade, Seventh Division. In that terrible struggle for the possession of the Argonne Forest, this noble youth poured out his life for his country. The wound to the father's heart was well nigh mortal. He went about his accustomed tasks, discharging with fidelity every duty devolving upon him, but those who were nearest him knew the suffering of his heart and that the light had gone out of his life.

The vast increase in the volume of business in the Federal Courts in recent years and the extension of Federal jurisdiction over a multitude of subjects hitherto exclusively within the cognizance of the State tribunals made the work of a Federal Judge increasingly important and increasingly onerous. The Southern District of Georgia is one of the largest and most important districts in the country. The amount of business transacted in the courts of its five divisions is even greater than its size and importance would indicate. When Judge Evans was first appointed, he shared the work and the responsibility of the district with Judge Emory Speer and there was enough for both judges to do. But on the death of Judge Speer in December, 1918, the entire work and the full responsibility for the district fell on Judge Evans. In an endeavor to clear the crowded dockets of the several divisions, Judge Evans held Court almost every day during practically his entire incumbency on the Federal Bench, frequently holding both morning and afternoon sessions and often attending to business in his chambers at the noon hour and in the evening. In addition to the work of his own district, he was designated to preside in the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit and in a number of important cases in the Northern District of Georgia. Many notable cases of the greatest importance came before him for decision and he was rapidly making for himself a reputation as a Federal Judge such as he had been privileged to enjoy as a member of the judiciary of the State.

But while there came before him interesting and great

cases requiring the highest and best of his judicial powers, far too much of his time was devoted of necessity to the trial of petty criminal cases, arising under the National Prohibition Act and a number of other recent penal statutes of Congress. To a well seasoned and eminently capable Judge, qualified for the highest judicial service, the time spent in the trial of these petty cases could not but be irksome. And the consciousness weighed on him that no matter how much of his valuable time he should devote to this service the dockets of his Courts were constantly being more and more congested, for these cases arose in greater number than could be disposed of by the most tireless and continued effort of any one Judge. He felt that he was capable of rendering his country a higher service than was required of him in the trial of these cases, and at the time of his death, he had in course of preparation an address which he proposed to deliver at the then approaching session of the Georgia Bar Association, in which he expected to urge the necessity for some relief for the Federal Courts from the flood of minor criminal cases with which they are now overwhelmed. His devotion to his official work; his unremitting toil in the effort to dispatch the volume of business constantly accumulating throughout the District; his sacrifice of himself and of almost all rest and recreation, unquestionably hastened his untimely death. Indeed, it may be said with truth that he gave his life in the service of his country, a martyr to duty.

As was the case during his residence in Atlanta as a member of the Supreme Court, so while living in Savannah, his official duties demanded almost all his time, leaving him but little opportunity to take his rightful place in the social and public life of the city which would so readily have been accorded him if he had been privileged to accept it. Here, again, we find him enjoying the companionship of a number of the leading men of the city in the Cosmos Club, whose social and literary meetings were to him a constant delight. Again, we find him active in the work of his Church. Shortly

after removing to Savannah, he was elected a deacon of the First Baptist Church and teacher of the Baraca Class in its Sunday School. When he took charge of it, this class numbered twenty-seven. At the time of his death, it had grown to nearly three hundred. Probably the best work which he did was for this class, and it is certain, from his own statement, that he prized the opportunity afforded by the class as he did no other. No matter where his official duty might call him during the week, he always arranged to be with the class each Sunday morning. The last work that he did was to address this class. It was in the midst of a term of Court in Macon. As was his custom, he returned to Savannah to spend the Sabbath with his class and his family. He expected to re-open the Court in Macon on Monday morning, having before him a very heavy docket. He delivered one of his splendid addresses to this class in the morning, sat in his accustomed pew at the preaching service and in the afternoon was stricken and died a few moments afterward. The active pall bearers were members of this class and the class attended the funeral in a body.

Judge Evans was always interested in education. While a member of the Supreme Court, he served for a short time as a trustee of Bessie Tift College, at Forsyth, Georgia, and after he became United States District Judge, he was elected a trustee of Mercer University. He felt compelled to resign both positions on account of the press of his official duties. He was also interested in the history of his country and particularly of his State. Shortly after he moved to Savannah, he became a Curator of the Georgia Historical Society. He took an active part in the steps leading up to the consolidation of the Society with the Georgia Historical Association. When it became necessary for the Society in order to bring about this consolidation to resign as the trustee of the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, he became one of the first members of the Academy. At the annual meeting of the Society held in Savannah less than a

month before his death, he was elected its President, again succeeding his old friend and former associate on the Supreme Court, Judge Andrew J. Cobb. The last two numbers of the Quarterly contain articles from his pen; one on "The Evolution of Jurisprudence" the other on "The Code Napoleon."

Of the intimate private and family life of Judge Evans, it would not be seemly now to speak. His departure has been too recent. The grief occasioned by his sudden taking away is still too poignant. That he measured up to the highest ideal as a husband and father and was faithful in the discharge of every private as of every public duty scarcely needs be said. He was twice married; first to Miss Bessie Warthen of the well-known Washington County family of that name, and second, to Miss Jennie Irvin of Shorterville, Alabama, a grand niece of Governor Jared Irvin, who survives him. He left four sons, Thomas Warthen, an attorney of Dublin Georgia; Julian Richard, a merchant of Sandersville, Georgia; Reese N., a student in the University of Georgia, and Irvin Lumpkin, a lad of twelve years of age.

On the 8th day of May, 1922 in the prime of life and in the active discharge of duty, he died at his home in Savannah, and on the 10th, his mortal remains were laid away in the family lot in the cemetery at Sandersville beside those of his soldier son, who after sleeping for a short time in the soil of France, had been brought back to finally rest near the dust of his ancestors. Many were the tributes to his life and character from those who knew and loved him in every walk of life. In reading these tributes, one is impressed with the fact that the man was greater than his work his character than his splendid achievements. While referring to his greatness as a lawyer and his eminence as a jurist, far greater emphasis is placed on his "faithfulness," his "sincerity," his "courage, truth and love," his "spirituality, thoughtfulness and loyalty to principle," his "kindness to those who needed kindness, his love for his fellowmen, his

great patience in dealing with the faults of others," his "courtesy and magnanimity of spirit." He was indeed "the soul of honor," "an ideal citizen," "a Christian gentleman."

Possibly no finer word has been spoken of him than by his former pastor, Dr. Henry Alford Porter of the Second Baptist Church of Atlanta, who said:

"We loved him, for he had a genius for friendship. There was in him a blending of friendliness and reserve. Most men thought him reserved and self-contained. They were right. But no one came near to him without finding a friendliness that was all the richer for the reserve that protected it. If I might reach out into all the vocabulary of human speech and gather up a single word for Judge Evans' memory it would be the stately word, "Friend" . . no other were so nearly his biography.

"He was a friend of boys, and gathered around him a great class in the Sunday School. These boys, with their intuitive insight, were charmed by him and adored him.

"We loved him for his gift of sympathy. From his eyes the tears readily fell. He was big in brotherhood. Kindness and grace beamed in his face and lighted up his life.

"We loved him for his transparent, childlike character. So true was he and so surely genuine that men who differed and mistrusted each other were alike in trusting him.

"We loved him for his passion for righteousness and justice and for his courage in standing for his convictions. He was, with all his tenderness and gentleness, a fighter, a fighter against unrighteousness and darkness—heroic, chivalrous, like some knight of old."

Well did Woodrow Wilson say: "In the death of Judge Beverly D. Evans the country loses an upright and able servant."

AN APPRECIATION OF BEVERLY DANIEL EVANS

JUDGE ANDREW J. COBB.

Beverly Daniel Evans—Born May 21, 1865.—Died May 8, 1922.

A life far less than the allotted period and yet full of that which was good and in it nothing that could be described as undesirable. A college graduate at sixteen, licensed attorney at nineteen, legislator at twenty-one, solicitor-general at twenty-five, judge of the Superior Court at thirty-four, justice of the Supreme Court at thirty-eight, Federal judge at fifty-two. Such was his record of service in public official capacity. Born just as the echoes of the struggle of arms were dying away, he was the first person born in Georgia after the Civil War to hold the different offices just enumerated. Imbued with the traditions of the past, he carried into the era in which he lived the high purposes of the past.

He was a graduate of Mercer University and received his training in the law at Yale University. Endowed by nature with a strong mind inheriting a sense of loyalty, educated under conditions which produced honesty of thought, steadfastness of conviction, and courage of expression, he made a reputation in every line of activity in which he engaged.

He was a lawyer and a judge of ability but he was not a mere lawyer and judge. All matters of public concern challenged his attention. When propriety permitted he participated in public affairs, political, legal and social. His activities in the work of the Georgia Bar Association, the Georgia Historical Society and similar agencies are well known. That which made for the highest ideals in citizenship always appealed to him. His active participation in public affairs did not divert him from the higher duties of

life. He was a worker in religious affairs, a conspicuous figure in the local Baptist Church wherever his work carried him, ever manifesting a lively interest in the work of his denomination.

If I were asked to sum up his life in one word, I would select as that word, faithfulness. He was faithful in every sphere, in private life and public station. His career illustrates how much of service may be compressed into a comparatively short life.

In his life we see that which is calculated to stimulate the young with life before them, and encourage the old to make the most of what still remains to them.

HOWELL COBB PAPERS[1]

Edited by
R. P. BROOKS, Ph. D.
University of Georgia

H. V. JOHNSON[2] TO HOWELL COBB

Ex. Chamber, Milledgeville, Ga.,
Jan. 10, 1854.

My dear Sir:

I thank you for your last letter. You need not fear that I misunderstood the object of your first letter in reference to Rutherford. I understood and appreciated it.

My appointments as far as I can learn have given as much general satisfaction as I could have expected. Disappointed applicants and their friends are more or less sore. But time will heal these wounds especially if the final result shall show that the appointments are judicious. You need not fear that I will attach undue importance to disappointed applicants. True, I hate as much as anybody to wound friends, but I think I have the nerve to meet responsibility when it is necessary.

It is rumored here that Gov. McDonald[3] intends formally to withdraw his aspirations for senatorial robes. What will be the effect do you think? It will be an important development. You should be apprised of it and shape matters as you would have them, if you can.

I have read Douglass's report on the Territory of Nebraska. He takes the true ground I think, i. e., argues

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1 The first installment of the Cobb papers appeared in Vol. V. No. 1

2 Herschel V. Johnson, U. S. Senator, 1848-1849; Judge of the Supreme Court, 1849-1853; Governor of Georgia, 1853-1857; Confederate States Senator; he was a Southern Rights Democrat on the issues of 1850-1851, but Cobb supported him for Governor; Candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Douglas ticket, 1860.

3 Charles J. McDonald, Governor of Georgia, 1839-1843. Defeated as Southern Rights Candidate for Governor, 1851 by Cobb. Associate Justice Supreme Court of Georgia, 1856-1861.

that the compromise of 1850 covers all the questions that can be raised touching the interest of slavery. I mean I have read a part of the report, all that bears on this question. If his report shall be sustained by Congress, we may hope for a future of quiet and repose. It will moreover plant the Admr. and the National Dem. firmly in the ascendency.

Have you any news of interesting developments at Washington? Do you think Davis will be elected U. S. Senator? In that event will Pierce probably call Gov. McD[onald] to the Cabinet?

I had a letter from Judge Lumpkin a day or two ago—expresses himself well pleased with my appointments.

JNO. H. LUMPKIN TO HOWELL COBB

Rome, Ga., Jan. 18, 1854

Dear Cobb:

. . . . . I was with McDonald[1] a good deal while he was here, and he was in fine health and in most excellent spirits. In fact I have never seen him when he was on better terms with himself and with most of the world. He has not much fancy for our friend Col. Underwood and I think he has not a great deal of respect for Dr. Singleton. I had no conversation with him in regard to the position of United States Senator, nor did he give me any intimation that he expected to go into Mr. Pierce's cabinet. But William Fort of this place a nephew of Dr. Fort, and who is the intimate friend and supporter of Gov. McDonald, informs me that Jefferson Davis is in correspondence with McDonald, and that McDonald informed him confidentially that he would go to Milledgeville immediately this week, and if he could control some three or four of his friends and induce them to go into your support for United

1 Charles J. McDonald.

States Senator, that he would then tender back to the party the nomination and go in publicly for your election, and if this was successful, he had no doubt of your election to the United States Senate[1] and that he would be appointed Secretary of War in the place of Jefferson Davis who would also go into the Senate from the State of Mississippi. He further informed me that Brown was an applicant for the Senate from Mississippi, and that this difficulty would have to be accommodated, by providing for Brown in some other way. I feel confident that this arrangement will be carried out. And if so the party in Georgia will be once more thoroughly united and cemented. . . . . .

G. W. JONES[2] TO HOWELL COBB

Washington, February 16, 1854.

Dear Cobb:

Well here we are in the midst of the slavery excitement again, the finality of the Compromise to the contrary notwithstanding. The Nebraska bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise being the question upon which all has been gotten up. A most impolitic and mad movement for the South, no practical good can come of it because there is none in it. Calm, peace and repose is what the South—the country, most need. I do not know who has been the adviser. Certainly the Southern men were not generally consulted, nor were the Northern men if I am advised rightly.

It has been concocted by politicians, for political and personal purposes. I do not know a Southern man who would

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1 The election of a U. S. Senator occurred on January 23, 854. The Whig incumbent, Dawson, was a candidate for re-election and received the solid support of the Whigs. The Democrats, of whom the great majority were of the Southern Rights wing of the party, controlled the legislature. The Union Democrats voted for Cobb, but he never received more than a small minority of the votes cast. Alfred Iverson, of Columbus, an extreme Southern Rights Democrat, was finally elected. McDonald was also a candidate and in the early ballots received the votes of a majority of the Democrats. He was finally dropped in favor of Iverson.

2 George Washington Jones, Congressman from Tennessee, 1843-1853; 1855-1859.

have advised the movement, if he had been consulted beforehand. Some of the best and most discreet are of opinion, privately, that the movement is madness and must result injuriously to the South. But it is upon them. On the other hand our best and most reliable friends from the North, are shivering, and some who will come square up to the work, when called upon to vote will do so with the conviction upon their minds, that the act will work their political destruction. That it will be a self sacrifice for the sake of the party. They say one strong argument, if not the principal one which prevailed, in inducing Northern men to acquiesce in the compromise, was that it was a finality, that all was now settled. The abolitionists and free soilers said, no—that the demands and exactions of the slave-holder were never appeased nor satisfied. That some new demand would be made, and continue to be made, and too soon has the verification come, they now exultingly say, I or we told you so. Chase, Giddings, & Co., are delighted with the prospects before us. They fight hard against the repeal, but in their hearts, I verily believe they desire the repeal. It will put into their mouths the charge against the South of bad faith. What possible good can result to the South from this renewed agitation?

Cobb, what is called the Democratic party is this day in a worse condition than either of us ever saw it before. Without any recognized head, no bond of Union to bind it together and no issue with its adversary as formerly, it is blundering along, under an administration which does not possess the confidence and cordial good will of a tithe of the party. I fear the administration cannot get through respectably—that it will let down is the opinion of some of our best friends. Gen. Pierce is treating the true and the tried of the party as his mere vassals, who as a matter of duty would support him or be read out as renegades—and taking his Counsellors, Cabinet advisers from the two extremes

of fire-eaters and freesoilers, and a quite recently proselyted Whig, and in addition bestowing his patronage upon persons of the same sort almost exclusively, has cooled the ardor and personal regard for him of a host of the best men who were most cordial and sincere in his support in 1852. I fear we have been mistaken in the man, in his capacity, in his executive administrative talent. I fear he is not equal to the tasks imposed upon him. In farmer phrase that he is *over craped* and with all that he is rather too much of a Yankee. I fear that we are in for it. That would perhaps not be so bad, if it was not for the prospect of a complete rout of the Democratic party. From appearances and developments thus far this bids fair to outstrip all former administrations in large appropriations and extravagant expenditures. And the Democrats at the close of Gen. Pierce's four years will be forever estopped from commending the Democratic party for its economy, to the support of the people as well as from charging upon the Whigs extravagance. Perhaps I am a little too gloomy and desponding. I hope so, and that all will yet be well.

Write and let me know your news.

ROBERT TOOMBS[1] TO HOWELL COBB

Washington, D. C., Aug. 1, 1854.

Dear Cobb:

. . . . The Governor has been backing down on Cuba, but the late news from Spain looks favorable to great changes there, which they think here will aid our objects on Cuba. Pierce vaccilates—we have the old river and harbour bill before us. It will pass I think but Pierce assures us he will veto. We have had a warm debate on it for the last two days when I had to "fight all around the ring" against it.

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1 U. S. Senator 1851-1861.

DAVID COLLINS[1] TO MR. & MRS. HOWELL COBB

Dec. 10, 1854.

Agreeable to yours and Mrs. Cobb's request I know rite you a few lines about the crop and helth of this place at this time. We are all in tolerable helth. the crop turned out some better than I expected. We hav a plenty of meat for another year and corn enought, the present crop of cotton is also better than I thought it would be. I hav sent off 168 bags, the crop will be between 200 and 210 bales. I shall be able to turn over to the next overseer a fine stock of hogs for another year, and a good stock of cattle, but rather a sorry stock of mules, owing to a good potion of them being verry old though having a plenty to feed on. I think he can make out verry well.

JAMES BUCHANAN TO HOWELL COBB

Hornby Castle
Yorkshire, England, Jan. 3, 1855

My dear Sir:

You will be astonished at the place from which this letter is dated. It is the castle of the Duke of Leeds where with my niece I have been passing a few of the holidays, after a long and laborious time in London.

In answer to your favor of the 5th. ultimo, I can truly say that I have no friend in America more worthy of my entire confidence, or on whom it would be more freely bestowed than yourself. In truth, however, the subject of your letter demands no confidence. From the period of the last Presidential election I have uniformly declared to all inquiring friends that I would not again be a candidate for the Presidency; & from this I cannot depart. I have always thought it was a melancholy spectacle to see old men struggling on the political arena for honors & offices, as

1 Collins was an overseer on one of Mrs. Cobb's plantations

though this world was to be their everlasting abode. I desire, should kind Heaven prolong my days, to pass the remnant of them in the tranquility & retirement of a private citizen. I shall be sixty-four years of age, should I live until the 23rd. of next April, & at the end of the next Presidential term will have nearly completed my three score & ten. The people of the United States, unless under most extraordinary circumstances, should never elect a man of such an age their President.

In forming this resolution, I was not influenced, in the slightest degree by previous disappointment. On the contrary I feel conscious that I have enjoyed more than my share of public honors & offices. I shall ever feel the deepest interest in the success of the Democratic party & as a private citizen shall give both its measures & its men a decided support. It will surely rise again from its recent defeat & Anteus-like will rise from the earth with greater strength than it had before its fall. There are several younger men in the United States quite as well qualified as myself to discharge the duties of the Presidential office, among the more prominent of whom, without flattery, I would class yourself; & nothing but the partiality of friendship could point to me as capable of commanding a larger electoral vote than some of them. It is true that as a great portion of my life has been devoted to the maintenance of the Constitutional rights of the South, I may be popular in that region; but for this very reason I should lose votes in the North.

I have never liked my present situation & accepted it with very great reluctance. I shall remain, according to my agreement with the President during the term of two years which will expire at the latter end of August next & will not probably return until October. Though not very happy, I am content with my condition & endeavor to make the best of it.

The British people, although somewhat jealous of our

rapid advance, especially in commerce & manufactures & feeling an undefined apprehension of our rapidly increasing power & numbers, yet indulge in self gratulation that they have given birth to such a nation as ours. They enjoy a free press & free speech, & life, liberty & property are perfectly secure under their system. The present war against Russia is emphatically a war of the British people into which the Government entered most reluctantly. They consider it a war of freedom against despotism, whether rightly or wrongly, & are, therefore, quite indignant that their "Cousins on the other side of the Atlantic" should appear to sympathize with the Czar. The unnecessary & very severe articles against them in the Washington Union, whilst seriously interfering with my negotiations, cannot it seems to me do any possible good. It is considered the Presidential organ; & for this reason ought to feel itself under a wise restraint in regard to the language if not the matter which it employs against foreign Governments. That of England is bad enough, but when compared or rather contrasted with the Government of the Continent, it is rather to be admired than condemned. The English Liberals in Parliament with several of whose leaders I am intimately acquainted are sincerely attached to us & view our institutions with admiration. Whilst steady in their efforts to extend the suffrage & remove abuses, they do not believe that a Republic would be suited to England.

The public speaking in Parliament, is not, in my opinion, equal to that in Congress.

JAMES GARDNER TO HOWELL COBB

Augusta, Ga., June 12, 1855.

Dear Cobb:

Your brother tells me that you requested him to see A. H. Stephens, ascertain his precise views and position in the present canvass, and write you; and as I had a full conver-

sation with Stephens and he did not, he has requested me to answer your inquiries.

I talked freely and fully with Stephens last Sunday. Others were in the room which prevented my putting direct questions to him of a character which would when answered, as I know he would answer confidentially, have placed him fully in line with us. But he said enough to *convince me thoroughly* that he is with us heart and soul not for the campaign only, but for the war. In the canvass next year he will be one of us and a part of us, to all intents and purposes a Democrat.[1] He says our platform was greatly better than he expected of us—he finds no fault with it barring its laudation of democratic principles and measures, which grates a little on his old Whig sensibilities. Even the endorsement of Gen. Pierce's administration he fully concurs in, as it leaves the Reeder[2] imbroglio untouched. He says he will give to the position of the Convention on the slavery question his cordial support, and will make no assault on either the state or federal administration. He cannot from personal considerations vote for Johnson,[3] but if we had nominated *any other man of our party* he would have voted for him and rallied every man in the state he could influence to his support.

You can safely, judiciously, and with the utmost propriety invite Stephens into your district. He wants Johnson elected, and says that if he could go in by 30,000 majority it would have a grand moral effect. He has no sympathy with the Columbus movement, discountenanced it when at Columbus, and refused his co-operation. He regrets however our program of an adjourned Convention and [that] another nominee could not have been called out. We would he thinks, have secured many thousand votes for us that Johnson cannot possibly get.

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1 Stephens and Toombs entered the Democratic party in 1855. The bulk of the Whigs went into the Know-Nothing Party.

2 Andrew H. Reeder, appointed by President Pierce as territorial governor of Kansas in 1854.

3 H. V. Johnson, then candidate for re-election as Governor of Georgia.

(What a pity Johnson was so selfish, and for his future popularity so shortsighted.)

Stephens did not get my letter till Monday, 4th inst. He would have answered it, but none of the Taliferro delegation went to Milledgeville. He meant to send his answer by one of them.

I think Andrew J. Miller, from what he told me in Stephen's presence, will take position with him and us.

J. J. FIELD TO HOWELL COBB

Marietta, Ga., July 24, 1855.

Dear Sir:

I left Dahlonega yesterday morning. The Know-nothings were just preparing to start to the Gainsville convention. One of their plans to secure your defeat I understand from several of them is whilst at that convention to take up a collection to defray the expenses of traveling agents, or missionaries throughout your district. The amount I understood they wanted for that purpose is five thousand dollars. It is very desirous on the part of your friends in Lumpkin that you be certain to be at the General Musters throughout that Brigade, and if possible bring Mr. Stephens with you to as many of the musters as he can possibly attend, but especially have him to make a speech at Dahlonega. I think a speech from our friend Ellick[1] would have a good effect in Lumpkin County. The Know-nothings, as you doubtless are aware are plentiful in Lumpkin and Forsyth counties, much more so I hope than elsewhere in your district. It will be well for you to give special attention to these two counties, though I can't think you are in any danger.[2]

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1 i. e., Alex H. Stephens.

2 Cobb was elected to Congress in November, receiving 9,203 votes against 5,277 for his Know-nothing opponent.

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 19th, 1855.

My dear Wife:

. . . . We are still without a speaker, and perhaps no nearer to it than at the start. At least I see no evidence of an early solution of the difficulty. For the last two days we have had a good deal of speaking, which may perhaps hasten the organization. At this moment we are now voting the sixty-fifth time and no appearance of an election. In 1849 I was elected on the sixty-third vote and on the third Saturday of the session. So you see we have had more votes taken but not so many days consumed. The reason of this is there has been less speaking. As yet there has been no excitement and until we have a storm, I think we will have no election. My own opinion is that Banks will ultimately be elected, though they will have to adopt the plurality rule to effect it, unless the debate drives the *pretended* national Know-nothings of the North to the support of Banks. The truth is that those of us here know and see as little through the mist as those at a distance, and therefore, you will have to wait patiently for the final announcement of the result through the telegraph & the newspapers. . . .

The Washington Correspondent to *The New York Herald*[1]

Washington, Dec., 22, 1855.

The Speech of Howell Cobb, on Friday, was designed wholly for party purposes, and to keep steady those members who have thus far given their votes for Mr. Richardson. There were apprehensions entertained before the meeting of the House on Friday that the Democratic vote would be divided after the first ballot, and thrown for some new man. The name of Cobb was mentioned in connection with the subject, which he hearing, induced him to lead off

[1] In the issue of December 25, 1855.

in a speech of great partizan strength, which, in all probability, will have the effect to continue things as they are. Mr. Cobb has been earnestly appealed to by many members for privilege to use his name, alleging as a reason for the request that he could be elected Speaker, and that there were no hopes whatever for Richardson. Their reasoning was perfectly sound, and the object attainable; but no impression can be made on Cobb to induce his becoming a candidate for the Speakership. Should Banks be elected, Mr. Cobb will have the satisfaction of knowing that he possibly might have prevented so sad a result, and one that would be regretted by every loyal American. There are those belonging to the Democratic party who think that Mr. Cobb can render greater services by being on the floor, and taking the lead in important questions, as they may arise. This consideration evidently governs Mr. Cobb's actions at this moment, and hence the country must be prepared to regard him as the leader and oracle of the Congressional Democratic party.

The Washington Correspondent to *The Daily Pennsylvanian.*[1]

Washington, D. C., Dec. 22, 1855.

The mail that carries this will bear to you also a copy of the Union, containing a report of the speech made in the House of Representatives on Friday last, by Howell Cobb. As delivered it was a great speech, in the fullest sense of the term. I have not read the report fully, and therefore cannot say how faithfully it is rendered; but, even if every word is there precisely in the order in which it was uttered, it must still fail to convey to the reader an adequate idea of its excellence, and fail especially to account for the powerful effect the speech had upon the House. It requires that you should have been present, to understand this. The most

1 In the issue of December 25, 1855.

skillful reporter cannot transfer to paper the grand, fervid and impressive manner of the orator—the telling emphasis —the significant gesture—the clarion voice—the attending circumstances, and the other adjuncts of the subject and the occasion; and yet these, as well as the lucid exposition and the unanswerable argument, from the iron logic of which there is no escape, are necessary to a full appreciation of the force of this great effort. To give you, and if you think it desirable, the readers, of the *Pennsylvanian* also, a few notes of explanation on this subject, is my present purpose.

For the greater part of two days, a Southern Know-nothing had had the floor. He, as well as others of his party, had affected to hold the Democratic organization—brave in purpose but few in numbers, responsible for the condition of affairs in the House, "because the resolutions of the Democratic caucus, interpose barriers against all approaches by the Know-nothings from the South." This had been argued so incessantly, and by a few of the abler men of the National "American" party with such plausibility, as to induce a feeling of satisfaction, if not of triumph, amongst the adherents of that cause. It was to expose this pretext, and further to assert the true dignity of the Democratic position, that Governor Cobb took the floor. To read his speech aright, these two purposes must be kept all the time in mind. You will perceive how fully and completely he established the fact, that the barriers were erected by the Know-nothings themselves, and that it is the result of their work that Georgia and the entire South do not speak upon the floor of the House, in one voice.

In developing his argument on this point, he took occasion to tear away the mask behind which "National" Know-nothingism seeks to hide its most repulsive features. He did not, and would not, discuss the vague and vapid generalities of the Philadelphia platform, on the subject of civil and religious freedom, but he would discuss here, as he did at home, the principles contained in their tests and oaths. As

you will observe, he did not enlarge his argument here, nor amplify it at all. It was not required, for there was a whole volume of argument in his simple discrimination, between their published principles and their OATHS. He rang out this word OATHS with power and a significance that no mere printed words can possibly express.

The second great purpose of Mr. Cobb was as forcibly and clearly effected as the first. It was to establish this great truth, that a Democrat, and especially a citizen of the South, who resists the assaults made upon the Constitutional rights of the States, can form no honorable alliance with those who are striking at the Constitutional rights of the citizen—Catholic and foreign-born. In the maintenance of this principal consists the true dignity of the position of the Democratic members of the House.

Having disposed of the two propositions to which I have alluded, Mr. Cobb concluded the principal part of his speech, with an eloquent refusal to abandon the Democratic organization, for a mere temporary sucess; and should I live a thousand years, I think I could never forget the impressive fervor of voice and manner with which these words were spoken:

"Waive the Democratic organization?" said he. "Today, though reduced in numbers on this floor, that party occupies before the country a prouder position than it ever did before. My southern friends, do you ask me to abandon the Democratic organization in the hour in which purged of the last Free-Soil sentiment that disturbed its harmony and destroyed its power and usefulness, it is entering a new career of triumph of Democratic and Constitutional freedom? I cannot respond to your request. Believing, as I do in my honest judgment, that the best interests of this country, if not its very existence, depends on the preservation of the National Democratic party, I will never abandon that organization as long as the banner which floats over it has inscribed upon its fold the principles to which I

am in body and mind thoroughly and unfalteringly devoted now and forever."

There were a few incidental points which perhaps it may be well to notice. The Kansas bill, and its true interpretation, had been introduced into the discussion. In order to convict the Northern Democrats of inconsistency in this respect, Mr. Cox, of Kentucky, a Southern man, resorted to the extraordinary expedient, of calling up certain Free-Soilers to testify against their Democratic competitors in the Congressional canvass. It was in rebuke of this, that Mr. Cobb, directing his index finger towards the seat of Mr. Cox, with flashing eye, and impassioned sarcasm, uttered a sentence in the speech, which without a knowledge of the foregoing occurrence, may not be thoroughly understood. I allude to this passage: "There was no man in that House who would have risen before a Southern constituency, and called to the stand Free-Soilers to testify against the men who have fallen in defense of the Constitutional rights of the South." Upon this subject of discrepancy in the interpretation of that bill by different public men, you will find the following conclusive response: "I trust that I shall be able to show, at the proper time, that although there are differences of opinion on immaterial points, yet, that upon the great, leading, practical idea, contained in the bill, there is but one voice and one sentiment in the Democratic party. Adopt what theory you please; carry out what views you please; entertained by gentlemen of the Democratic party, they all come at last to the great practical point,—that the will of the people of the Territory shall control and decide the question of Slavery."

There was one other incident to which I wish to direct your attention, not so much because of its importance, as on account of its happy manner and effect. It is not to be found at all in some of the newspaper versions of the speech, and not accurately reported in others. Mr. Cox remarked, while Governor Cobb was speaking, that the Democrats could vote for one of his party without endorsing any prin-

ciple of the Know-nothings, as they might vote under protest. To this Mr. Cobb made the following impromptu and felicitous reply: "I prefer to embody my protest in my vote; it is easier understood by the country, requires fewer explanations hereafter; and is more acceptable to my heart." With this I will conclude an epistle that has gone far beyond the length I first designed, hoping that it may have the effect to present to you in a stronger light, some passages of a remarkable speech, which in the absence of the circumstances attending its delivery and in the hurry incident to your arduous vocation, may have escaped the notice they deserve. W.

GEO. H. MARTIN TO HOWELL COBB.

Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 25, 1855.

My dear Sir:

I have intended for some days to have written you to say how delighted your friends in this region were to see you again in the councils of the nation, fully armed for the sustainment of the principles which are to test the capacity of man for self government. I am this morning in the columns of the "Union" reminded of that intention by your *brilliant* effort on Friday last. Its praise is in the mouth of everybody. It is the *blow* of the session, its stunning effect on the opposition is clearly manifest here, if followed up by the steady action of our friends, great good will result. I view it as the program of the next Presidential fight.

I hope you will be able during the session to spend a few days with us in Philadelphia. I promise you a warm reception, not only from your personal friends but the great mass of our community.

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE.

Washington City, Jan. 5, 1856.

My dear wife:

. . . . . The contest for speaker continues without any perceptible change and no one sees any better prospect of an election than at the start. I still adhere to the opinion that Banks[1] will ultimately be elected, though there is no other reason for the opinion than the force of mere conjecture. A motion is just made to adjourn and as it is Saturday evening, I think, it will pass. I therefore conclude my letter, & moreover have nothing to write about.

R. M. GOODWIN TO HOWELL COBB

New Brunswick, N. J., Jan. 14th, 1856.

My dear Mr. Cobb:

I have been intending to pay you a visit at Washington on my way to Georgia, but have been deterred from doing so by the disorganized condition of the House of Representatives. Will you ever elect a speaker? I have read the message of the President. It is excellent and all on *paper* we could desire, but with me there lacks one great essential (not to make it a better production) which he cannot give. I do not believe in him: I do not believe he would carry out in practice that he conveys to us in writing. This is the great difficulty that Mr. Pierce labors under with the people of this country. They have not confidence in him and they will not believe him. I am truly sorry that things should be so with the head of the great Democratic party, but as far as my observation has led me, I am constrained to say that this administration has not the confidence of the Democracy,

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1 Nathaniel P. Banks, Congressman from Massachusetts, 1853-1857. Speaker of the Thirty-Fourth Congress; elected on the 133rd ballot.

nor will it ever have. The Democratic party is as strong now as it was in 1852 and if united as it was then is probably stronger. A union is all that is desirable to ensure success in 1856. To effect this union must be by a rejection of Mr. Pierce's claim to a re-election. If *he* is renominated, the Democratic party is certainly destined to defeat and disgrace. I know of no condition of things that could possibly re-elect him and it is well for the Democracy to look elsewhere for their standard bearer.

I am certainly disposed to support the administration as a Democrat, and all measures emanating from it ought to be sustained by the party as from the administration placed there by them, but further I would not go.

It is needless to give reasons, and how Mr. Pierce has placed the Democratic party in its present unpleasant and divided position. You know them as well if not better than I do. But I look upon him as having violated his inaugural, as having caused the disruption of the party, as being the cause of forming of the Know-nothing party, and in fact the dissolution of the integrity of the Democracy, of his having demoralized them in every particular.

I am a Democrat of forty years standing and for that space of time have cast my vote only for a Democrat. I am now an old man, having my three-score years. I will I hope die in my Democratic faith and hope to live to witness many of its triumphs. But if this man Pierce is again to be thrust upon us, if I live I will not vote for him.

If I were with you, I could relate things that I know of, but will not do to put in a letter. So I will wait until another opportunity. I should like to be a member of the Cincinnati Convention, if I can be sent there with a knowledge by those who send me that under no circumstances will I support Mr. Pierce. . . . . F

WM. S. ROCKWELL TO HOWELL COBB.

Milledgeville, [Ga.,] 20 Jany. 1856.

My Dear Sir:

. . . . . The Democratic party of Georgia do not believe that the will of the people of the Territory shall control and decide the question of slavery. As a proof of it read a copy of the preamble and resolutions introduced in the House by Gen. Smith of Jones. When we meet face to face I will give you the secret history of those resolutions. It would not surprise me if the Legislature of Georgia appropriated funds to help prevent the *'people'* of Kansas from declaring that it should be a *free* state

Make no false issues. The *citizens* of a territory according to the Democratic creed may control the matter, but not according to my doctrine. No number of *citizens* or *people* have a right to take away my property so long as we live under the Constitution. If we are forming a government *de novo* they may say I and others shall not hold slaves, but we have also the right to say that we will depart from such a government and take our property with us. Nor is there any such thing as *free* territory belonging to the United States and the distinction which the Democrats in Congress take between States and Territory would be laughed at in a school boy.

All territory derives its character as to occupation from the [owners?] The Territory of the United States belongs to all the States, slave and free; it is therefore *slave* territory and not free—because all have a right of occupancy. And if the free community steal or trespass on the property of the slave-owner, horse or negro, Congress is bound to protect it. Just as much as Congress is bound to protect your goods or mine on the high seas against the *free booter* and pirate who says that the ocean is *free*. . .

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE

Wasington City, February 1, 1856[1]

My dear Wife:

. . . . .You will see that the President has sent in his message. Mr. Stephens and myself urged it upon him, and as I said to you before, he was startled at the idea at first, but ultimately acted upon it, and the whole party sustain him in his course. If he had had bold counsellors from the beginning, he would not be in the position he is, and I expect he begins to think so himself. The credit is given to the President himself for the boldness of the move and that is right. I don't know which was most astonished when the message was delivered, his friends or his enemies—all were taken by surprise This is the advantage of the head of a party doing a thing first, and consulting about it afterwards. Had he consulted too many there never would have been unanimity. . . . . .

JOEL BRANHAM TO HOWELL COBB

Eatonton, Putnam Co., Ga., April 10, 1856

My dear Sir:

I presume you intended your letter on the matter of the Presidential Election for my brother, Doctor Henry Branham. As it was addressed to me, I will answer it. The manifest policy of the Democratic Party is to unite on the strongest sound man. I have no doubt (with the exception of Kentucky and Maryland) all the Slave states would vote for Pierce, Douglass or Buckhannan. The only question for the party to determine is, which of these men is the strongest. Buckhannan is unquestionably the man. He can get the vote of Pennsylvania, and possibly New York, N.

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1 This letter is dated in the original Jan. 1, but this is probably an error, as the letter appears to refer to President Pierce's message of Jan. 24, in which he had condemned the activities of the Free-Soil element in Kansas. See T. C. Smith, *Parties and Slavery* pp. 149-151.

Jersey, N. Hampshire and Maine. If Mr. Buckhannan is nominated the Democratic vote of the South will be larger than it has ever been. I have more confidence in your personal management of the affairs of the Democratic party than any fifty that will be at the Cincinati Convention. I speak but the language of hundreds of your friends when I say you ought to be there. You will allow me to speak candidly to you. I believe you to be an *honest publick man,* and the best and safest *manager the party has, North or South.* There are so few to be relyed on as having sound policy and discretions in such an important matter, that we in Georgia who know you well, think and feel that all would be well if your council and advice could prevail in the Convention. It is truly an important and ominous period in the history of our country, and all true patriots should unite to save the Union and maintain the constitutional rights and eaquality of the states. With Buchannan this may be accomplished. I honestly believe he is the only man that can succeed.

JAMES BUCHANAN TO HOWELL COBB

Wheatland, [Pa.,] 10 July, 1856.

My dear Sir:

I have received your kind favor & am sorry to learn that the article in the Lancaster Intelligencer about Col. Benton has produced such an unhappy effect in Washington. It only illustrates the truth of the remark that grave consequences often flow from the most trifling causes. I am as little responsible for this article as I am for "squatter sovereignty," although my friends in the South charge me with both & this with equally good reason. I never saw the article and knew nothing of it until some days after it appeared in the Intelligencer. The editor has a correspondent in St. Louis, who has written him letters gratis for publication for a number of years & these have been quite interesting & in-

creased the circulation of his paper. It appears this correspondent who went from Lancaster & whose relatives, all excellent Democrats, reside in the neighborhood, is a strong Benton man. The Editor told me he thought it was bad policy in the Washington Union to be assailing Col. Benton or any other man who was supporting me & therefore he wrote and inserted the article. There shall be no more of this thing, though it would give the affair too much importance formally to recall the article. Whether Benton be sincere or not, (I believe he is) I cannot perceive the necessity for assailing him and thus affording him a reason or a pretext for keeping his electoral ticket in the field. Governor Price voluntarily assured me and pledged his honor for the event that if they could not compromise with their opponents, they would withdraw their ticket. In a short time Col. Benton's sincerity must be tested. I presume it is not intended to drive from my support all who do not agree with the platform with which I am identified heart and soul, & who prefer me rather than support a Know-Nothing or a disunionist. There are very many such among the old whig party in this State.

Maryland is a prodigy. The Black Republicans here calculate upon the vote for Fillmore with perfect confidence. Their hope is that I will have sufficient strength in the South to carry the election into the House & then they would consider Fremont's election as certain. Fillmore has not the most remote chance of any northern State. He will not get an electoral vote in the union, unless it be in the South. Under these circumstances, is it not amazing that the old line whigs of Maryland should play into the hands of the abolitionists and disunionists.

I speak of Maryland particularly—because the Black Republicans speak of it in such a manner as to induce a belief that they have some real foundation for their hopes. In case of a dissolution of the Union, which Heaven forbid, Maryland & Pennsylvania would most probably be frontier

States; & whilst we and generations yet to come would have bitter cause to deplore the dreadful catastrophe, these two states would suffer more than any other members of the confederacy.

I regret very much that Mr. Crawford and yourself could not visit me as I had expected. Please to remember me to him very kindly & say I hope that both he & you may pay me a visit at a more convenient season for yourselves.

HOWELL COBB TO JOHN E. WARD[1]

Washington City, 19 July, 1856.

Dear Ward:

I have thought but little and said less about the cabinet since I saw you. I think it best to let the matter rest until the election is over. There will be a great struggle about it, and our policy is to be uncommittal until we see how matters stand. I confess to you I have no personal wish about it, so far as my own name is concerned. Indeed, I have less and less desire every day for any such place, and I need not say, that your own appointment would be more acceptable to me than *any other man.*

At present things look badly at the north. The anti-slavery excitement is running high. There must be a reaction or all is lost. As to Fillmore, he is doing through his friends, all the harm at the South they can and no good at the North. Already have his friends united with the Black Republicans in Pa., for the Oct. elections, and it is said, will unite in an electoral ticket. I have faith in the people and cannot doubt Buchanan's election, but it looks stormy now. Fremont's election is a dissolution of the Union and when the north sees and feels that, there must be a reaction.

I leave in the morning to carry my family home but shall be back in a week.

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[1] The Editor is indebted to the Librarian of the Wisconsin State Historical Society for a photostat of this letter.

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE

Washington City, Dec. 1, 1856.

My dear Wife:

. . . . .As you might expect, all the talk here is about the cabinet of Mr. Buchanan and there are as many opinions and speculations here as you see in the newspapers. I have nothing authoritatively from Mr. Buchanan, but at the same time I am pretty well informed of the present state of the question at Wheatland. Mr. Buchanan has not as yet determined definitely upon any member of his cabinet, and will not before the first of February. I have no doubt that he will offer me a place in his cabinet, and I have as little that *he wants* me to take the only place that I would accept —the State Department. I am informed in a way that is perfectly satisfactory that he is more anxious on that point than upon any other. It has been extremely gratifying to me to hear and know that he expresses himself more cordially in reference to myself than to any other person. It is equally gratifying to see the feeling manifested in my favor from almost every quarter of the Union. It is worth more than all the offices in the Republic. My going into the cabinet I feel confident therefore is a question for my and *your* decision. . . . . .

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE.

Washington City, Dec. 17, 1856.

My dear Wife:

. . . . . I found things in Washington about as I left them. The politicians are all busy making a cabinet for Mr. Buchanan. The only additional point that I have learned since my return is this—Mr. Buchanan has been informed that I will take no place in his cabinet except the

State Department, and several of his personal friends have said to me that Mr. Buchanan has said to them that the only trouble he has, in making his cabinet is in fixing upon his Secretary of State. Now my inference is that he had fixed his mind upon the Treasury for myself, and is therefore embarassed about the matter. This is my conjecture as I hear from all quarters that all his friends press upon him my appointment, and such is his own desire. Who it is that he is looking to for his Secretary of State, I cannot say, unless it is General Cass. Upon that point he preserves a remarkable silence, which is not broken to anyone. It is a matter that gives me no anxiety and but little thought, as I am personally quite indifferent whether I go into the cabinet or not. Knowing however that you want to know how the matter stands I write you all I know or think on the subject. . . . . .

MRS. COBB TO HOWELL COBB.

Macon, Ga., Dec. 21, 1856.

My dear Husband:

. . . . .I feel as if we will make a happy escape should we be left out of the Cabinet. Things having settled down so well at Athens relative to the College, and should we get a new, good teacher for boys, I am more inclined to stay at home and should Mr. B[uchanan] offer you any other place than the one you have said was the only one you would have, I shall be ready to rejoice over your decision to decline. Still, I want you to decide for yourself and not for me. I merely wish you to understand that my ambition is for you and not for myself, and I shall feel no mortification and disappointment for myself should you remain out of the Cabinet. . . . . .

J. W. FORNEY[1] TO HOWELL COBB

Phila. Dec. 26, 1856.

My dear Cobb:

I owe you many apologies for not writing you on your return from Georgia; for I had much to say. Magruder did not tell me you desired to meet me, or I should have gone to Baltimore on eagle's wings.

There is one thing, my dear Cobb, that you are bound to do. *You must not desert your friends.* You will be to the National Democracy, their main pillow under Mr. B's administration. Without you I fear he may float into new hands and then Good-by to your friends. I am not authorized to speak. I only *know* that everybody here prays to God that Howell Cobb will go into the Cabinet, and without him many a good hearted friend will feel himself deserted. There is nothing selfish in you. I know not what Mr. Buchanan has in reserve for you, but he asked me, a few days ago, this question "If I take Gen. Cass as [Secretary of] State would Gov. Cobb go into my Cabinet?" I had seen Hart before you wrote me, and he told me that you said to him you would take the State Department alone, and this suggestion I had spoken of. But I answered Mr. B. "If Gov. Cobb is the man I take him for; if he desires to serve his friends; if he is anything to your administration; *he will.*" The good old man brightened up and said, "*I should be glad to know it.*"

From this I do not decide that you are out of the State; by no means. Your friends, active and devoted as men can be, are all for you for that; and Mr. B. himself looks to it for you; but if this is not done, for God's sake do not desert us, should the next position be offered. When you remember that the extreme South has yielded before the demand

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[1] Editor of Philadelphia and Washington Papers; Clerk of the U. S. House of Representives 1851-1855, as a Democrat; 1859-1861 as a Republican.

for your services and that those who assail you only injure themselves by doing so, and that the whole democracy of the North pray for you in the Cabinet, I am sure you ought not to hesitate. It would be so unlike you to do so, that I will not debate it with you for a moment. Should you refuse I should feel like giving up politics forever, and so would many others.[1]

As to myself, I am hopeful but not nearly so confident as my friends are. Mr. B. is at work for me with much energy. . . . .

1 Cobb was offered the Secretaryship of the Treasury and accepted.

[THE COBB PAPERS will be continued in the September number of the Quarterly.]

BOOK REVIEWS

General Robert E. Lee after Appomattox. Ed. by Franklin L. Riley. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xviii, 250.)

Robert Edward Lee after the Civil War was quite a different man in his outlook on life from what he had been before. Although he had had no part in bringing on the war and even had believed that secession should not have been attempted when it was, he fought for the cause of the South and was naturally much affected by the four years of the struggle. As with many others so with Lee, Appomattox meant the end of one age and the beginning of another—an age in which relative positions would be vastly changed. The weight of the war rested heavily on Lee throughout the remainder of his life. He would forget the conflict (although at first for a time he planned a history of it) and all other wars. He hated war and militarism and was opposed to military training in colleges. He seldom smiled; yet he was far from being morose.

He accepted the results of the war without question, and to him the sane course for all Southerners was to set about rebuilding. Numerous offers of lucrative positions were showered upon him whereby he might regain his former fortunes, and even a country estate in England was proffered; but he rejected all and, instead, accepted the presidency of a bankrupt college. It was here where he saw service could be rendered to the South, and in the remaining few years of his life he gathered an increasingly large number of eager and earnest students, many of them his former soldiers, and laid the real foundations of the Washington and Lee University of today.

This book well sets forth an intimate view of Lee, justly laudatory and naturally so due to the fact that it is composed largely of accounts written by his former students or associates. This method is valuable in presenting Lee in

the minutest details of his life as noted by admirers; it presents Lee as no biographer could who had never known him. This method also has the fault of considerable repetition, little discrimination, and no unified straightforward account. But withal this work is a valuable contribution to a complete appreciation and understanding of the great Southern chieftain.

A dozen clear illustrations add interest to the book, and a table of contents and an index make reference to particular topics rather easy. A few printer's mistakes exist, e.g., the date, 1879, on page 158.

E. M. C.

Men of the South. A Work for the Newspaper Reference Library. (New Orleans: Southern Biographical Association. 1922, pp. 792.)

As the sub-title of this work indicates, it is primarily a reference book for the newspaper editor; but as the "Foreword" states, it is also published for "the artist, and those interested in the affairs of the South." The task of compilation has been done by a board of fifteen editors from various Southern States. It consists of short biographical sketches of Southern men, and there is almost invariably included a photograph of the subject. The work is divided according to states, and at the beginning of each division there is a short historical account of the state, in which occasion is also taken to note present conditions and the future outlook. These accounts sometimes develop into meaningless laudation, hence become worthless. For example, in the sketch of Georgia, twenty-six instances are mentioned in which the state is declared to be first in something. In some cases it would require much patient investigation, which has never been done, to establish the fact, and in others, it is manifestly misleading, as for example, "First Christian baptism, 1540," "First cultivation of grapes; W. de Lyon, 1735."

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The title of this work is somewhat misleading, as only eight of the Southern States are included, viz: Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, Kentucky and Texas; and the basis for inclusion of men is not quite clear. Certainly it could not be predicated on the relative prominence of the subjects as among the states for Florida is allotted 238 pages, whereas Virginia is given only 80, Georgia 74, Kentucky 26, and Texas 24. An examination of any state will also reveal the fact that no fixed standard of prominence is set in selecting men within a state itself. However, a particular method of compilation could easily account for this.

The make-up of the book is most attractive; it is a beautiful piece of book-making. Most of the photographs are large and clear, and the paper used is of a high grade. For the clientele particularly in view, this work will serve a useful purpose, as far as it goes. There is an index of names, but no table of contents.

E. M. C.

A Life of George Westinghouse. By Henry G. Prout, C. E., A. M., LL.D (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922, pp. xiv, 375. $2.50.)

This is the record of a remarkable inventor, financier, and business man. He had much more to do with making America rich and powerful than many a person whose name looms large in American history as it has been written. But political affairs are fast being relegated as the only interpretation of a people or even as one of the most important. In the newer light, the history of recent America must note the name of George Westinghouse and include an account of the developments with which his name is linked. Railway transportation, electrical advancement along many lines, such as the manufacture of power, and numerous major mechanical inventions which made the the rapid industrial

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progress in America possible—these things are largely beholden to George Westinghouse.

He was a New England Yankee, of a family not unknown for its mechanical skill; and in point of time he appeared on the stage of action soon enough to run away to join the Union armies in the Civil War. He attended Union College three months and came to the conclusion that more was to be learned and accomplished in his father's workshop. His first invention came in 1865, the rotary steam engine; and although it failed to come into practical use itself, it led to the rotary water meter. For the next forty-eight years, the remainder of his life, he turned out on an average one invention every eight weeks. His whole aim and thought was to better equip his own shops—he never made an invention to sell. He is best known for his air brake; but his development of the alternating current transformed the electrical world. As a business genius and organizer, he showed his ability in developing a host of companies in America and many in Europe and elsewhere. In fact he admitted his ambition was to make the world his field. A signal recognition of his integrity and capacity was his appointment with Grover Cleveland and Justice Morgan J. O'Brien on the board of trustees to save the Equitable Life Insurance Society from ruin. Among his conspicuous business deals were his contracts for lighting the Columban World's Fair in Chicago for developing the electrical mechanics for harnessing Niagara Falls.

This book is written to a great extent in non-technical language; yet the author has developed his treatment of technical topics in so complete a manner that no engineer need feel that the subject is not adequately handled. Those who have no desires to go into the technical discussions will find much of general interest in the first and last two chapters, viz: "Introduction," "The Personality of George Westinghouse," and "The Meaning of George Westinghouse." Mr.

Prout has used his best opportunities in securing his information. Westinghouse left scanty written traces. He wrote few private letters, kept no journals or notebooks, and made few addresses. The author did the next best thing, by using wherever possible the information that Westinghouse's close business associates could give. The book contains a few illustrations, a table of contents, an appendix on the patents of Westinghouse, and a rather inadequate index. This work should prove a distinct help to those who would write or understand American history in its true sense.

E. M. C.

EXCHANGES

The Virginia Historical Pageant produced in Richmond in May was the occasion of a special number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. The documents and other regular features are omitted from the April, 1922, issue and the magazine is made up of portraits of great Virginians, an account of the history and plans of the Virginia Historical Pageant Association and "a number of papers which are popular in their nature, but which are the results of scholarly research." Some of the papers have been published before or are more popular presentations of material that has been published in another form. The first paper, "The Native Tribes of Virginia," is by a special student of the subject, David I. Bushnell, Jr., of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The First University in America is an address given by Captain W. Gordon McCabe, at Dutch Gap, May 31, 1911, at the unveiling by the Virginia Society of Colonial Dames of a monument to commemorate the plans that would have given Virginia the honor of the first university in America but for the tragedy of the Indian Massacre of 1622. The Real Beginnings of American Democracy, by Mary Newton Stanard is an account of the genesis and proceedings of the first representative legislative assembly in America. The Settlement of the Valley, by Charles E. Kemper, of Staunton, and Before the Gates of the Wilderness Road, by Judge Lyman Chalkley of the University of Kentucky, treat of the settlement of the great back country of Virginia. The final article, The Virginians on the Ohio and Mississippi in 1742, by Fairfax Harrison, gives for the first time "a clear and authoritative account of the very remarkable expedition of Howard, Salling and their party from the Valley of Virginia to New Orleans and of Salling's equally remarkable escape from French captivity.

The May, 1922, number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society,* presents as its leading article a compilation of biographical sketches and appreciations of Henry Watterson, which touches upon every phase of the brilliant career of the famous Kentuckian. Doctor Willard Rouse Jillson, Director and State Geologist, the Kentucky Geological Survey, contributes three papers to this number of the *Register.* The discovery of Kentucky is an exposition of the mythical character of the several explorations ascribed to Kentucky prior to actual discovery by Gabriel Arthur, Virginian, in 1674. First Explorations of Daniel Boone in Kentucky, gives the researches of the writer in the manuscript library of the late Doctor Lyman C. Draper, in the archives of the Wisconsin State Historical Society that resulted in the finding of two pages of hitherto unpublished manuscript showing that Boone made his first hunting trip into Kentucky in 1767. In the third paper Doctor Rouse gives the history of oil and gas in the Big Sandy Valley. Among the other articles are some new facts about Abraham Lincoln's parents by Thomas B. McGregor, republished from the National Republican; Reminiscences from the Life of Colonel Cave Johnson; Correspondence between Governor Shelby and General Harrison, January 30, 1813—June 28, 1814; Fayette County Census of 1810; History of Lincoln County Court; and West Kentucky Sketches.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine,* March, 1922, publishes the Civil War Diary of General Isaac Ridgeway Trimble, Lloyd Graveyard at Nye House, Talbot County, Maryland, by McHenry Howard, and some unpublished Provincial Records, and continues the Catonsville Biographies by George C. Keidel, Ph. D., and the life of James Alfred Pearce, by Bernard C. Steiner. The chapter of the life of Pearce published in this number contains some interesting contemporary accounts of the breakup and realignment of parties following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March, 1922, has three leading articles: The Relation of Philip

Phillips to the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, by Henry Barrett Learned; The Beginnings of Railroads in the Southwest, by R. S. Cottrell; The Policy of Albany and English Westward Expansion, by Arthur H. Buffington. The first article is based upon the papers in the Library of Congress of Philip Phillips, representative from Alabama, December, 1853,—March, 1855 and throws some additional light on the formulation of that part of the Kansas-Nebraska Act that repealed the Missouri Compromise and the famous conference held by President Pierce at the White House on Sunday January 22, 1854. The second paper is a very interesting discussion of the struggle of New Orleans and the cities of Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi for the trade of the Southwest between 1830 and 1840. The panic of 1837 dealt a severe blow to the far-reaching plans of these cities for railroads that would secure the coveted trade and a little more than one hundred miles of railroad were actually built, but during this decade was definitely outlined the railroad program of this part of the South before the Civil War.

In the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* of January, 1922, W. P. Webb, in a paper on the Last Treaty of the Republic of Texas, explains the change after annexation in the attitude and policy of Texas towards the Indians within her borders. In the period of the republic two parties developed in Texas over the Indian policy; the majority to which Lamar belonged favored extermination; an influential minority led by Sam Houston desired peaceful relationship established through diplomacy and maintained by kindness and fair dealing. The treaty signed November, 1845, marks the triumph of Houston's policy of conciliation and at the end of her existence as an independent state, Texas was at peace with all the Indians within her borders. But with annexation, the policy of Texas was changed. In entering the Union Texas reserved all her public land, which included that inhabited by the Indians, and the implied right

to land in Texas was lost to the Indians. Control over the Indians passed to the United States and the Federal Government would have to remove the Indians from Texas as rapidly as the Texans were ready to occupy it or there would be friction between the State and the Federal Government. There are no Indian reservations in Texas today. To this number of the *Quarterly* William E. Dunn contributes an interesting paper on the Founding of Nuestra Señora del Refugio, the last Spanish Mission in Texas; the Journal of Lewis Birdsall Harris, 1836-1842, is concluded; and the Bryan-Hayes correspondence is continued. The April, 1922, number of the *Quarterly* contains the Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas, by Anna Muckleroy; Edward Hopkins Cushing, an appreciation by his son, E. B. Cushing; and the third installment of the Bryan-Hayes Correspondence.

The *South Atlantic Quarterly,* April, 1922, contains four articles of interest to students of history. In the Middle States and the Embargo of 1808, Louis Martin Sears again publishes some of the results of the careful study that he is making of the embargo, its economic results, and the political reaction. Jeannette Reid Tandy concludes a critical and suggestive discussion of Pro-Slavery Propaganda in American Fiction, of the Fifties. Daniel C. Roper, sometime United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue, contributes a paper on Administrative Problems in United States Internal Taxation, and Frank J. Klingberg one on the Americanism of Andrew Jackson.

The *Sewanee Review,* January-March, 1922, has awo articles of historical interest: Erasmus, A Humanist Among Reformers, by Frank M. Gibson of the Maryland Diocesan Library, Baltimore, and France before the War, by Dr. Sedley Lynch Ware of the University of the South. The latter is the first of three papers in which Professor Ware discusses "the genius and the characteristics, the qualities

and the defects of the race; in other words, the human factors in reconstruction." The second paper will be devoted to the changes brought about by the war and to the problems created by it. The final paper will deal with France's material and moral resources as assets in the work of rebuilding and as promises for the future.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1921,

Of "Georgia Historical Quarterly" published quarterly at Macon, Georgia for April 1, 1922; State of Georgia, County of Bibb.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Percy Scott Flippin, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of the Georgia Historical Quarterly and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper the circulation), etc. of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Georgia Historical Society, Macon, Ga.; Managing Editor, Percy Scott Flippin, Macon, Ga.; Business Manager, Percy Scott Flippin, Macon, Ga.

2. That the owners are: Georgia Historical Society, Macon, Ga.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: There are no bond holders, mortgagees or other security holders.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

PERCY SCOTT FLIPPIN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of March, 1922.

S. E. ODOM.

THE

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* Died May 8, 1922.

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THE RIGHT TO LIVE: WILL THE STATE PROTECT IT OR MUST WE RELY UPON FEDERAL AUTHORITY?[1]

JUDGE ANDREW J. COBB,
President Georgia Historical Society.

The preamble to the Charter of "The Georgia Historical Society" declares that the Society was instituted "for the purpose of collecting, preserving and diffusing information relating to the history of the State of Georgia in particular, and of American History generally.

The Constitution of the Society in setting forth the objects of the Society quotes the language of the preamble. The purpose of the Society to diffuse information relating to history has been steadfastly adhered to. I do not desire to offend against either law or tradition. I wish to refer to some things that are now transpiring. In a sense the things of to-day are not history but they are that which will make history. We speak of current events. May we not say history is past, current and future. That which has been, exerted an influence in producing that which is, and that which is, portends that which will be. I will refer to that which has been and I trust I will not offend when I refer to that which is, in an effort to safeguard that which will be.

The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States contains this language,"Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due

1 Presented at the Eighty-Third Annual Meeting of the Georgia Historical Society, April 12, 1922.

process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." It is now settled that the terms of even a Constitution are the legitimate subject of judicial interpretation. It is also now settled that the right and duty of interpretation of the Constitution of the United States resides in the Supreme Court of the United States, and the utterance of that august tribunal is the last word as to the meaning of the Constitution. It is a matter of common knowledge that the highest courts and the most respectable tribunals do not always cling to prior interpretations of contracts, wills, laws and constitutions.

In the realm of judicial interpretation there are two leading maxims; *stare decisis,* let the ruling stand; *fiat justitia ruat coelum,* let justice be done though the heavens fall. Chief Justice Bleckley said: "Courts of final review are bound by the rule *stare decisis* both as a canon of public good, and a law of self preservation: nevertheless, where a grave and palpable error, widely affecting the administration of justice, must either be solemnly sanctioned or repudiated, the maxim which applies is *fiat justitia ruat coelum.*"[2] A change in the personnel of a court sometimes brings a change of interpretation. Be it said however to the credit of judges that this does not happen very often. As a rule judges conquer pride of opinion. A complete change of conditions, a state of affairs that could not be foreseen, or a manifest failure to apprehend the scope of a law or a constitution more commonly bring about change in interpretation.

The ninth and tenth amendments to the Constitution of the United states are in these words: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." In the division of powers between the Federal Government and the State, the power to punish crime was reserved to the States in the

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2 Ellison v. R. R. Co. 87 Ga. 691.

original Constitution with certain exceptions, such as crimes against the United States, offenses against the law of nations, and offenses committed by or against persons acting under color of authority of the United States and the like. The power to punish was recognized, except in such cases as have been referred to, as within the reserved powers of the State referred to in the ninth and tenth amendments. Within the powers expressly granted or arising by necessary implication the judicial power of the United States extended to the punishment of individuals. The question as to how far the provisions of the fourteenth amendment extended into the former powers of the State arose early after the amendment was adopted. Congress asserted the right under authority of that amendment to punish individuals for depriving persons of life, liberty and property by due process of law and denying to persons the equal protection of the law.

The Supreme Court held and has consistently held to this day that the limitation in the fourteenth amendment is a limitation upon State authority exercised through state agencies, upon the law-making department of the State, upon the judicial department, upon the executive department, upon the various administrative agencies acting under authority or color of authority of the State. It restrained the State in its corporate capacity and did not restrain individual action where the individual was not acting under State authority, especially did it not restrain where the individual was acting in defiance of State authority. Murder is an offense against the State ordinarily. It might be an offense against the United States if the deceased were killed while pursuing his duty as a Federal officer, or if the killing constituted or was a part of an offense against the law of nations, or was an act of treason against the United States or the like. But murder committed by an individual when neither the slayer nor the deceased had any connection directly or remotely with the United States in the exercise of the powers granted it, was an offense against the State in which it was committed and against such State only. The

Supreme Court of the United States has recognized without break in uniformity of the rule just stated. But the recognition of this rule by the Court is a result of mere interpretation.

There is now pending in the Congress a bill declaring murder by lynching to be an offense against the United States. The bill as it was finally presented to the House of Representatives and passed is adroitly framed. It seems to recognize the existing interpretation as sound. It seeks to avoid the effect of such interpretation by declaring that non-action by the State when one is denied the equal protection by an individual is the equivalent of state action and brings the state within the limitation of the amendment. It provides that if murder by lynching occurs the offenders may be indicted in the Federal Court, and if it shall appear that no action has been taken by the State to punish the offenders within a specified time the presumption shall be that the State has abdicated its authority and as a result this State has denied the deceased the equal protection of the laws. This presumption places upon the State the burden of showing that it is enforcing its laws against murder by lynching. We do not know whether the Senate will pass this bill nor do we know what will be the interpretation placed by the Supreme Court upon it if it is enacted into law. Lynchings have occurred in Georgia. I will not further refer to the dark page in our history too well known. We think of it with shame. We discuss it only to prevent a recurrence. The page becomes darker when I am constrained to say, no lyncher has ever been punished in Georgia. If there is a recorded instance of the punishment of a lyncher in Georgia it has escaped my attention and my investigation has not yet discovered it. There have been perfunctory and farcical investigations by grand juries and coroners' juries. Up to the recent days we have had nothing more. Be it said to the credit of two counties that there has been recently real bona fide investigation. In one there were indictments but

so far no convictions. In the other the investigation is still in progress, and arrests have been made to await the action of the grand jury. The action of these two counties gives us a slight ray of hope.[1]

I have so far referred to past history and current history. Now for an effort to forecast future history. What do we wish to be the record of the future? It is easy to indulge in gloomy forebodings. The prophet of evil is never an interesting character. Disaster has often come however because the warnings of a prophet of evil have been disregarded. If we prophesy evil simply to distress then let our tongues be silenced and our pens fall from paralyzed hands. If after a calm review of the past, and an accurate observation of the present, we see that which is destructive in the future, no fear of a charge of pessimism should restrain us from the utterance of the warning which our reason dictates and our conscience demands. If lynchings continue in Georgia and other States and the State Courts fail to function and punish murder thus committed, the day will certainly come when the pending bill in Congress, or a similar bill formulated upon still more shrewd and adroit lines will be enacted into law and the law thus enacted will be upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. We have seen changes of view in judicial interpretation where mere matters of commerce, trade and taxation are involved. Some of us have thought some of these changes invaded the reserved powers of the State. But we have acquiesced in them for the reason that the results seemed beneficial. If we have been ready to acquiesce in what we consider erroneous interpretation concerning mere property rights, how much more will we be ready to acquiesce when the right to live is involved. To be securely protected in the right to possess property is a matter of little concern if we have no guaranty of a right to live. "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property except by due process of law"—the

1 Since this paper was read, three lynchers have been convicted and sentenced to terms in the penitentiary. This occurred in Schley County, the latter county herein before referred to.

principles of all great charters of liberty, the language of all American constitutions. Each right in its due order: the right to live, living, the right to acquire that which makes life more desirable. We are jealous of our right to be at liberty and possess, how much more jealous of the right to live. We can submit to restraints of our right to be at large, and our right to possess but we cannot and will not submit to a deprivation of the right to live.

"Protection to person and property is the paramount duty of government and shall be impartial and complete," is the declaration of our State Constitution. Person before property always. The failure of a government to protect the right of property produces a grievous condition. The failure of a government to protect a citizen, its humblest citizen, in the right to live is abdication with anarchy as a result. The right to live is guaranteed by our State Constitution. If the due process of the law is not exerted to protect the right to live, then the government fails. There is no government, and those who wish to live and desire to see others live will look to some government which guarantees the right. Those inclined to obey the law seek a government which will administer law. If their government fails they will look elsewhere. If there is a government that can be appealed to which can function and will function they will welcome its protecting power and will not scrutinize closely its authority. Usurpation will be welcomed to avert anarchy. Congress will some day declare that the right to live is a right guaranteed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution and the courts will approve the declaration, and the people will submit to the conditions preferring to live under a government that governs rather than to attempt to exist at their peril under a government which is a pretended government only. This will all be usurpation by interpretation, or revolution by interpretation whichever way you may wish to phrase it, but it is a condition which the future certainly has in store for us unless state authority is exerted and State government functions to

bring to justice those who murder by lynching. Our past history relative to lynching has been bad, wofully, and bad, indefensible from any viewpoint. Our current history discloses only the slightest glimmer of hope of improvement. There are men and groups of men in Georgia to-day who do not hesitate to commit murder by lynching in utter defiance and supreme contempt of State authority who would not dare to lay their lawless hands upon a rural mail box on a lonely road, protected only by the recognized fact that it was placed there by authority of the United States. There is a respect for the Federal Government, even by the lawless. If we cannot instill the same respect for the State Government then State Government is at an end and Federal intervention is inevitable and I do not hesitate to say that under such circumstances Federal intervention is desirable.

Can we cultivate a respect for State authority? That is our task if we wish to make the pages of future history brighter than the pages of past and current history, and retain the right of the State to be supreme in matters of domestic concern. Violation of law, whether by the individual, or a group, or an organization, or a whole community result from a contempt for constituted authority. We have been warned that our institutions will fail, if they fail at all, from influences within. The strength of the units which compose it. The individual citizen is the unit. If the unit is sound the aggregation is sound. If the unsound units increase to a number, even though less than a majority, which terrorize the sound or are so blatant in their voice as to silence those who are sound then they create the tone and character of the whole number. The individual citizen is born in the home, and is there prepared for his later entrance into the school, is there trained for the duties of citizenship and then enters upon his career as a citizen ready to heed the admonitions and to further the purpose of the consecrated leaders of Christian civilization in the pulpit and in other positions of religious activity. The process may be slow but the results are certain if these

three agencies are active and thorough in their respective realms. A government sometimes deems it a wise course to collect its revenue at the source where it originates. The children of men are wise in their day and generation. Those who are interested in the stability of government, the perpetuation of desirable institutions and due respect for constituted authority act wisely if they gather their citizens of the future at the sources which are a guarantee of useful ideals, a consistent advocacy of the same and conduct conforming thereto. Those under authority must be taught not only the importance but the necessity of yielding to authority. Upon them rests the responsibility where evil results from the overturning of authority. The disposition to disregard the law must be removed by inculcating respect for the law. All must be made to appreciate that crime is crime whether committed by one, or a number, an individual or a community; that violation of law is wrong no matter what may be the motive of the violator, whether it be gain or revenge or reform; and that no good thing was ever accomplished by wrong methods. Good citizenship must be the theme of the home, the school and the pulpit. I see great hope for the future in the faithful parent, the honest minded teacher and the fearless preacher.

Write me down if you will as mere prophet of evil, but I have the temerity to record my warning, and to proclaim the remedy. As I have progressed I have alluded to Georgia affairs only. Georgia has been used as a type. I am not unmindful of the fact that similar conditions prevail in other States. It is probable that in every State in the Union respect for Federal authority coexists with a contempt for State authority.

THE NEUTRALITY OF SWITZERLAND.[1]

PLEASANT A. STOVALL,
Ex-Minister to Switzerland.

One of the first troubles which Switzerland encountered at the opening of the European War was the appearance over its territory of the aeroplanes of belligerents. Switzerland was soon called upon to complain of this violation of her neutrality and several towns suffered serious damage from bombs which were dropped by accident or design. One of the first offenders was an English aviator who, starting at Bellfort near the Swiss border, dropped shells over the German sheds at Frederickshafen where Zeppelin raiders were being manufactured. It was shown that the British airman had actually flown above a section of Switzerland. The matter was promptly taken up by the Swiss Federal Council and the English Government was swift to make an apology. If the aeroplane had actually passed over any part of Switzerland it was an inadvertence. Still, Great Britain added that the question had not been definitely settled, and, although anxious to respect Switzerland's wishes in every way possible, the United Kingdom had not admitted the right of any country to claim sovereignty over all the air resting above it.

Germany was a frequent offender in this respect. Repeatedly her aviators were accused of unlawful incursion and as often did they apologize. But, no more than England, did Germany admit the justice of Switzerland's contention. It claimed that even a warship was allowed to remain for a while in foreign waters without violating neutrality. So Berlin contended an aeroplane which merely passed over a country might do so without arousing suspicion of abusing neutral rights.

1 This address was delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of the University of Georgia, June 19, 1922.

These opening incidents show how carefully Switzerland regarded its neutrality in the war. Indeed, one of the miracles of the World's War was the neutrality of Switzerland.

No nation was more affected by the war, although it was not actually one of the belligerents. As a government it carefully abstained from showing sympathy for either side. It has no story of towns destroyed or of armies annihilated. And yet, first and last, Switzerland was in turmoil and was a real sufferer from the struggle.

The picture of the little country during the four years was pathetic. It was surrounded on all sides by a wall of fire. On the north and east Germany and Austria bordered, and and on the west and south France and Italy were its close neighbors. It was dependent absolutely upon both groups for supplies, because Switzerland was far from being self-sustaining. From Germany and Austria it drew iron, steel, coal, sugar and commercial fertilizers. Through the Allied lines it was compelled to bring grain and the bulk of its produce and provisions.

The most dependent country in the world, Switzerland always insisted upon its neutrality and independence. For one hundred years this neutrality had been guaranteed by peace congresses of the European Powers. It was established by the spirit of the people themselves. This little republic offered a tempting theatre to nations at war. It separated the ancestral foes, Germany and France. As the first Napoleon said, it was the most valuable avenue of attack and defense between these two countries.

In the early part of its history Switzerland was always more or less embroiled. It had resisted the encroachments of the House of Hapsburg until the latter had been beaten to silence. It had hurled back the armies of Burgundy, had blocked the ambition even of Charles the Bold and retired the claims of the House of Savoy. Switzerland had remained neutral in the Thirty Years War. However, it was more or less involved in the Napoleonic Wars for its soil was repeatedly invaded by the Allies.

By the treaty of 1815, however, the neutrality and independence of Switzerland were recognized and guaranteed by the nations of Europe. In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 Switzerland preserved her neutrality and a French army retreating from Bellfort fell back into Switzerland and was interned at Neuchatel. Eighty thousand men were disarmed and imprisoned in Switzerland until the war was completed.

Careful convoys of scouts watched the belligerents from towers on the frontier in 1914. When American soldiers arrived in large numbers in France three years later Switzerland promptly sounded President Wilson as to the policy of adding American recognition to European guarantees of its neutrality. And when she was invited later on to enter the League of Nations a commission was dispatched to Paris to explain to the Peace Conference that Switzerland could not under her contract with Europe assist in an economic blockade or authorize the passage of troops across her soil, even though the latter might be sent by the League of Nations to punish refractory states.

The wonder of the war was that in the midst of the turbulent scenes taking place in Europe, the effusion of blood and the shortage of food, Switzerland had preserved its neutrality and stood out against force and temptation. High authorities asserted at home and abroad that the time had come for the little nations to seek protection of the large countries or to form their own alliance for combined defense. Switzerland, in spite of her temptation to cast her lot on either side, remained steadfastly asserting its neutrality, becoming the admiration of the world.

It had long been a favorite plan with writers and strategists to erect Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg, and Belgium into a "federated block of neutral territory." Did King Albert have this in his head when he appealed to the little states to stand together in the shadow of the impending storm? His words were significant. But in thirty days the storm which he feared had broken and the landmarks of Europe were brushed aside in a single night. The visit of the King of Belgium to Berne, the capital of Switzer-

land, took place only three weeks before the European War burst upon the world. He had been in the habit of making unofficial visits to the Alps, lingering at the lakeside and enjoying the beautiful scenery of the Riviera of Switzerland. This time he threw off his incognito and was received in royal style at the federal capital. The Belgian colors floated from every eminence. It was believed he came to make a plea for a league of little peoples. If so, Switzerland turned a deaf ear to his entreaties. The country declined to express its sympathy for Belgium when Germany had actually violated the neutrality of that nation.

The guarantee of the independence of Switzerland cannot serve as a pretext to the great powers to exercise a control upon the politics of that country. It does not prevent her from organizing and from training the largest army possible. Some Swiss writers affect to see in this guaranteed neutrality a cause of feebleness to Switzerland in limiting its liberty of action. They contend that a recognition of her neutrality is sufficient and that a guarantee itself is without value. But Switzerland claims to have experienced its benefits, recognized by treaties and supported by its army. It is not a neutrality imposed by the other powers, as in the case of Belgium, but recognized and guaranteed.

No one knew how close Switzerland came to be the Belgium of the war. Two years before the war opened the German Kaiser paid a visit to that country during the summer military manoeuvres. He came to study the Swiss Army and to spy out the country. He was especially struck with the evidence of markmanship among the men.

The Kaiser is said to have approached one of the recruits on the rifle range and to have congratulated him upon his skill. "But do all the men in the Swiss Army shoot as well as you do?" the Emperor asked.

"Yes, Sire," answered the soldier, "there are two hundred and fifty thousand men in the Swiss Army who shoot just as well as I do."

The artist who recalled this picture and who framed it in a cartoon during the European War, represented the Kaiser

as placing his hand upon his nose and muttering to himself, "I expect when the time comes it will be better for me to go through Belgium."

Whether this anecdote is a creation of art or a repetition of history, it is true that Germany realized that it could not easily flank the armies of France by parading through the mountains of Switzerland.

In the beginning of the year 1917 the German General Staff among several projects examined a plan to strike the Allies on the Western front, violating Swiss neutrality. It is declared on good authority that this last maneouvre had been absolutely decided upon; that it was to form the complement of the plan carried out in Belgium at the opening of the hostilities. The violation of Switzerland was expected to permit the outflanking and capture of defensive positions organized in France. The German Staff was already looking forward to a struggle in the rear of the French Army as a prelude to final triumph. Hindenberg is said to have been fascinated by the probable result of the Swiss manoeuvre. He abandoned the idea of trying to end the war in the Near East and reinforced his Western front to the utmost.

In spite of the fact that the Great Powers had expressly in 1815 recognized the neutrality and inviolability of Switzerland, which, they said, was in the interest of the whole of Europe, after all the resistance of the neutral state is the essential factor. This was the opinion of von Moltke. The aid of a foreign power, he intimated, would be proportionate to the interests of that power.

It will thus be seen that the Swiss did not rest their neutrality entirely upon the good will of the surrounding powers. Added to the natural physical barriers to invasion from any quarter, Switzerland's neutrality is respected for the reason that her people are united and that they could mobilize an army of nearly half a million men on any border. No one doubts that if Switzerland had been weak in a military sense as Belgium and Luxemburg were weak, Germany would not have hesitated to invade her.

One of the most galling things to Switzerland was the establishment of a blockade in 1915 which the United States joined two years later. There was established *La Société Suisse de Surveillance* which had charge under Allied supervision of all articles purchased by Switzerland, to prevent their diversion into Germany. The Allies showed a generous disposition to supply Switzerland with the necessaries of life, provided none of them were sent to the enemy across the Rhine. Switzerland was obliged to accept this condition, but some of her people considered it a limitation of her independence, as their country was not supposed to enter into any political or economic compact. Strong letters of dissent proceeded from the army, protesting against the blockade and declaring that Switzerland, which should remain neutral and independent, was now compelled to negotiate with one set of powers against the other. Switzerland, they charged, was submitting to dictation, her boasted neutrality had degenerated into voluntary mutilation of the state. A part of the army was ready to rebuke this evidence of cowardice, this appalling decadence of the old Swiss spirit.

So Switzerland could complain that, although its frontier was not yet menaced, still its industry was stopped; its right to live was challenged; it was cut off from earning its livelihood. Economic trouble was more deadly than cannon for a brave people. In the blockade the independence of Switzerland was more difficult to defend. She was wounded in her sorest point, her neutrality and independence, and her right to trade where and with whom she pleased.

The sympathy of Switzerland, or a majority of Switzerland, was with Germany in the European War without a doubt. Three-fourths of the country was German. What was true of the city of Basel was true of all of German Switzerland. This stately city with an ancient university that honored the memory of Erasmus; with its art galleries keeping green the tradition of Holbein; this city adhered to its belief in final German victory.

The sounds of war were plainly heard in Basel. Often the grinding of heavy artillery could be detected from the

valley where the Germans were trying to pound a rift in the French line in the Vosges Mountains. Buildings in Basel would rattle and now and then a flying machine would dot the horizon across the border dodging the white flakes which burst and spread, representing bombs thrown up from the guns which were trained upon the slow moving ships in the air.

The handsome bridges over the river were picketed. The beautiful Holbein pictures in the museum were carried away for safe keeping and a stray ray from a German search light would break out from the deep blue of the Alsatian Mountains. At Altkirch the guns pealed day and night, sometimes reaching the maximum at midnight. All this could be plainly detected in the Swiss city on the Rhine. German soldiers walked the streets as internes, but they could look across the river at German hills and enjoy the confidence that soon they would be at home with their victorious army. The bankers, clergy, university professors, doctors and lawyers, capitalists and heads of the police department were mainly pro-German.

The sympathies of French Switzerland, of course, were with the Allies. And yet, in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 the sympathies of the German Swiss were hostile to Prussia, while French Switzerland was ardently pro-German. The expression of many papers in German Switzerland, which were frankly favorable to France, provoked a protest from German papers across the Rhine. The truth is that the little republic of Switzerland did not then wish to be absorbed or influenced in any way by the overweaning power of the nations on her frontier. When France was strong and dangerous the French Swiss, of course, were the first to be aware of it and the first to feel the danger. For the same reason the German Swiss at first resented the penetration of Prussia. What the German Swiss feared in 1870 had really come about in 1914. Germany had pushed its influence and its culture far into Switzerland. It had thrown its business enterprises across the Rhine; it had invested its money in Swiss banks and Swiss factories. It had

sent its professors to instruct the youth in every city. Indeed, a large part of Switzerland had already succumbed to German influence. So French Switzerland now recognized that it was Germany and not France it had to fear. For the same reason that they were suspicious of France in 1870 they were more distrustful of Germany in 1914. The signficant fact was in entire opposition to race ties in 1870, and just the opposite of the situation in 1914.

Naturally there was great interest in Switzerland over the formation of the League of Nations provided for in the peace pact at Paris.

In December, 1919, the entrance of Switzerland into the League of Nations was affirmed by two-thirds majority in Parliament and in the final referendum before the people this decision was ratified by a decided vote.

Switzerland said that the Pact of Paris was not an ideal society, even though guarantees had been offered to that country. Yet she hoped by going in to perfect it, to render it more universal, more liberal and more hostile to future wars. It was not exactly what she wished but it was a step in the right direction. The majority of the people concluded that Switzerland could not remain outside of a society of nations without peril. If she refused to adhere to it the country would remain isolated in Europe, would have to support a large army; would be compelled to renounce the guarantee of neutrality offered by the great powers in 1815. It would be to place an obstacle in the way of humanity. It was not only ratified by two-thirds of the Parliament, but the treaty was referred to the people. The majority of the cantons where German is spoken were naturally suspicious of a treaty made in Paris and whose headquarters were in Geneva, the metropolis of French Switzerland. The Socialists opposed it because they feared it would permanently block their movement against the capitalists. However, in a vote of nearly 740,000 the majority in favor of the League was 90,000. German Switzerland gave an adverse majority. In French and Italian Switzerland the favorable vote was six to one. But the choice of the cantons was close. The

League was carried by a vote of thirteen to twelve, for in a referendum a popular majority and a majority of the cantons both are necessary. So, Switzerland, the birthplace of the Red Cross, had succeeded for generations, in spite of her people, diverse in race, language and religion, in realizing a society of nations in miniature. It seemed to have logically carried out the complex and delicate international organism which exemplified the highest justice among men and governments. In no land could there be found traditions and usages better suited to the ideals of the Treaty of Versailles. The selection of Geneva as a site was a happy one.

In the Hotel de Ville, Geneva, is Alabama Hall. Here the first convention of the Red Cross was signed. On a tablet one reads: "In this Hall, on the 22nd of August, 1864, the Convention at Geneva securing the amelioration of the condition of wounded soldiers on the battlefield, was concluded and signed." There is an oil painting showing the representatives of the Powers at the moment of the signing of this famous treaty. It was here, too, that the historic award was concluded which put an end, by arbitration, to the conflict between the United States and Great Britain. On a second tablet one reads: "In this Hall on the 14th of September, 1872, the Arbitration Tribunal constituted according to the treaty of Washington, pronounced on the Alabama claims, thus settling, by peaceful means, the differences between the United States and Great Britain."

Switzerland, which formed a union of all nationalities, entertained the hope of uniting the nations of the world. It longed to play an international role in the rapprochement of Europe. They saw a superb mission which their little country could fill, a mission eminently pacific, based upon the confidence which all nations felt in them. So when Geneva was chosen, through the influence of President Wilson, as the home and headquarters of the League of Nations, there was general rejoicing in the Alpine Republic. The great question received a strong impetus in the world when the favorable verdict of Switzerland was recorded. This coun-

try is the birthplace of the International Postal Union, organized in 1874 in Berne, and is the headquarters of several international agreements.

Much interest was developed in Switzerland when it was found that President Wilson was really coming to Paris and would assist in the proceedings of the Peace Conference.

If there was one man in the world who had won the admiration and the confidence of the Swiss people, that man was the President of the United States. They had followed with approbation his course throughout the war. While he was a neutral they had promptly and enthusiastically endorsed his peace message addressed to the belligerents in December, 1916. Although they had refused all overtures from peace societies and pacifists in Germany to use their good offices in any way, the Government at Berne rushed to the side of President Wilson when he issued his famous peace offer during the Christmas season.

In May, 1917, Switzerland asked Germany to give safe conduct to ships leaving America laden with wheat for Switzerland. Though without a seacoast or a ship, Switzerland, we are told, had recognized rights on the sea as a neutral nation; the Treaty of Paris of 1856 respecting neutral flags, neutral goods on vessels of belligerents and blockade was also entered into by the Swiss Government in the same year.

Irritated, however, by the blockade of the Allies and piqued probably because Switzerland had to depend upon the Allies for food, Germany hesitated. Berlin explained that the necessary orders could not at once be delivered to German submarine commanders to spare the wheat ships. The submarines were scattered all over the seas and vessels from America with food for Switzerland would run the ordinary risk for three months of being torpedoed.

As soon as the Government in Washington was informed of this situation by the American Legation in Berne, Washington responded by a *"beau geste"* which, according to the *Journal de Genéve,* was altogether worthy of President Wilson; for the provisioning of Switzerland was assured in spite of Germany.

"Very well," the United States answered, "we will assume the risk. Wheat vessels destined to the oldest of the European Republics will be convoyed by ships of war of the United States."

Already in promising Switzerland wheat without insisting upon compensation, America had shown her generosity in a time of stress and need. The United States themselves were scanty of rations.

Now, the President had boldly made this declaration in the face of his enemies. He placed in peril his own crews to protect the Swiss wheat. "He testified to a very practical sympathy for our country," said the Swiss, "and today the debt of Switzerland towards the United States has increased in proportion to the dangers which American sailors run upon the waves of the Atlantic to safeguard our interests."

The gratitude of the people was manifestly excited by this generous assurance authorized by the Department of State, and a beautiful silver medal was struck off in Switzerland in honor of the event. On one side *en bas relief* was the figure of a dove flying across the ocean with a sheaf of wheat. Above the dove was displayed the flag of the United States fading into clouds. On the reverse side was the Swiss cross with the words:

"To the President and People of the United States of America: The gratitude of the Swiss families. 1918."

Realizing that America had called its bluff and that America's action showed off splendidly by the side of its own half-hearted tactics, the German Legation declared in print through the Swiss papers that America's promise was a grand stand play; that Germany did not intend to torpedo the Swiss ships after all.

They were not at one with President Wilson when he decided to break relations with Germany and enter the war, mainly because they feared that their food from America would be cut off. But they came to his support when they realized that America was anxious to continue to supply them as far as possible and they were struck with the vigor with which he had prosecuted the war. As the *Journal de*

Genéve had said, "Although misunderstood and misrepresented during nearly three years, the President of the United States has conducted the politics of his country with an energy and clarity worthy of all admiration." The conditions he laid down for the Armistice stamped him as a broad, liberal man. People spoke of Woodrow Wilson with reverence.

Accordingly, the Swiss Parliament, desiring to recognize the great value of American aid during the war and to honor the head of the American nation, addressed a message of welcome on the twelfth of December, 1918, to President Wilson coming to participate in the negotiations of the Treaty of Peace.

The city and canton of Geneva forwarded him a special invitation to visit that city which had been the cradle of the Red Cross and which was to be the seat of the League of Nations.

The consistory of the Cathedral of St. Pierre where Calvin preached besought him by the faith of his fathers to pay a visit to that historic place. Numerous private letters were received from Swiss peasants extolling the President of the United States for his great work and begging him even to come to their humble home. One of the most affecting tributes was paid by a local painter who had never seen the President, but who arranged a composite of his photographs. From these he painted a life sized portrait which was beautifully framed and which he requested to be forwarded to Brest, there to hang in the Grand Salon of the President's steamship, George Washington.

The President of the Swiss Republic went to Paris to meet President Wilson and was gratified beyond measure at his reception. He found the latter sympathetic with the peculiar situation of Switzerland, a country whose neutrality had been guaranteed and whose status was largely dependent upon its neighbors. They were particularly obligated to him for his influence in settling upon Geneva as the home of the League of Nations, and a touching telegram was indicted by the Swiss delegation of the World's Peace

Congress in Geneva in December 1920, extending warm greetings to President Wilson in his sick room at Washington.

At the arsenal in Solothurn there is a striking representation upon which the Swiss delight to look. The subject is the Diet of Stans where the Swiss confederates met after their victory over Charles of Burgundy in 1481. The object of the meeting was to reach an agreement as to division of the spoils after that remarkable triumph. History says that the conference was not successful at first and the Swiss confederates were about to break up in disagreement and disorder when "Brother Klaus," a venerable monk, appeared and besought the allies to resume their work in amity. He intervened at the psychological moment; the conference was resumed; an agreement perfected and the delegates parted in peace. Everything depended on common agreement and good will. The promise of mutual aid and assistance was renewed, especially when one member attacked another. There were memorials in Switzerland to the work of the great peacemaker whose example has thrilled his country for generations, and so Switzerland regarded the coming of Woodrow Wilson to Paris as a repetition of the mission of St. Nikolaus von der Flue.

One of the features in the Treaty of Stans was that no one in the confederation should make secret treaties or encourage dangerous agitation. "Open covenants openly arrived at" were established and those of the confederation who violated this condition were to be punished according to their fault. To familiarize the rising generation with the league which bound the several states together, it was agreed that it should be sworn to every five years. All the cantons obliged themselves to succor one another in the support of the form of government then established in each of them. In fact, the history of Switzerland affords frequent instances of mutual aid for these purposes. This seems to be confirmation of the principle of Article X of the League of Nations adopted over four hundred years later, by which the parties to the agreement undertook to respect

and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. So Switzerland, in endorsing the League of Nations in 1919, was really returning to first principles. In consequence of the intervention of the hermit priest the Diet of Stans was not fruitless, for the commissioners resumed their labors and brought them to a successful termination by drawing up the memorable covenant. The excited delegates were persuaded to listen to the words of reconciliation and peace as uttered by Brother Klaus.

No wonder that the great Nickolaus von der Flue has been handed down on the artist's canvas and in historic statuary. Chapels have been erected in his name and poems have been written. But better than all, his principles have been perpetuated. The priest's charter was affirmed when Switzerland ratified the League of Nations in December, 1919. Switzerland registered again the voice of the Diet of Stans. It was the call of Unterwalden to Versailles.

Switzerland was to find the echo centuries later when the storm which swept the world had slept.

"And Jura answers through her misty shroud
Back to the joyous Alps, which call to her aloud."

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN UPPER GEORGIA FROM 1890 TO 1920.

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The March number of the Quarterly contained an account of the condition and progress of agriculture in upper Georgia from 1850 to 1880, chiefly deduced from government census figures. The present paper, based on the decennial censuses of 1890 to 1920 inclusive, brings the story practically down to the present time. The methods of dividing the area into natural regions and tabulating and digesting the data were discussed in the former article, and need not be repeated here, but changed conditions and innovations in the census returns will be explained at the proper places.

A few works dealing with conditions in upper Georgia, or the whole state, at a later period than those cited in the first paper, should be mentioned here. R. T. Nesbitt, commissioner of agriculture, published in 1896 an illustrated handbook of nearly 500 pages, entitled "Georgia: Her Resources and Possibilities." It seems to be quite rare, and it is not cited in Brooks's Preliminary Bibliography of Georgia History (1910), or in the Bibliography of Georgia geology and geography in Bulletin 39, of the Geological Survey of Georgia (1922). About five years later the same department published another handbook about twice as large, "Georgia Historical and Industrial," by O. B. Stevens and R. F. Wright. That is well printed, and contains among other things a description of each county, with numerous undigested statistics of population and agriculture taken from the U. S. census of 1900; but it was made unnecessarily bulky and expensive by the inclusion of a considerable number of colored plates of fruits, poultry, etc., which convey no information about conditions in Georgia. Since then there have emanated from the same office several smaller hand-

books which are probably now scarce, and hardly need to be mentioned here.

A Ph. D. dissertation by E. M. Banks, "Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia," published by the Columbia University Press in 1905, bears directly on some of our agricultural problems.

A profusely illustrated and cloth-bound but grotesquely shaped book entitled "Facts about Georgia," published for sale by the Georgia Chamber of Commerce early in 1917, contains a variety of information, but no map of the state or any part thereof, and it is probably scarce already. The writer contributed to it an eight-page chapter on forests, with brief descriptions of the natural regions of the state. In School Science and Mathematics (Chicago) for November, 1918, I had an article entitled "A new method of mapping complex geographical features, illustrated by some maps of Georgia." This contains four regional maps, one showing counties, railroads, etc., much like the one used in the present series of articles, and the others showing the prevailing soils, trees and crops in each region. In the High School Quarterly (Athens, Ga.) for July, 1919, I published a study of the distribution of illiteracy in Georgia, using the same regional map as in the last, and giving among other things the average value of white and negro farm buildings in each region in 1910.[1]

In Harper's Magazine for April and May, 1920, there is an article entitled "Marching through Georgia," by Stephen Graham. The author walked most of the way from Atlanta to Savannah in the fall of 1919, following Sherman's route, and his narrative, though more or less interesting, magnifies the faults and belittles the virtues of nearly everything he saw (and some things he did not see), and uses uncomplimentary adjectives wherever possible.[2] His point of view is typical of that of a great many

1 In the case of these last two papers I was not given the opportunity to read proof and order reprints, but I soon afterward had them reprinted privately, with necessary corrections.

2 For example, he characterizes the main line of the Georgia Railroad, which is or has been one of the most efficiently managed in this country, as a "wretched single track" and sneers at it for following essentially the same well-chosen route that it did before the Civil War.

outsiders who attempt to pass judgment on the South with a very limited knowledge of the facts.

Map showing geographical or agricultural divisions of Georgia. Only those north of the fall line are discussed in this article. The small areas without names in the northwestern portion are Sand and Lookout Mountains, representing the Cumberland Plateau, with a narrow strip of the Appalachian Valley between them (in Dade County), and an outlier of the Blue Ridge along the line between Polk and Paulding Counties. The railroads and county boundaries are shown as they were in 1885.

The counties in Georgia in 1890 were the same as in 1880.[1] The kinds of information given by the census were much the same, too, but the data will be handled a little differently here, on account of changing conditions, principally the increasing proportion of negro farmers. The same map is used as before, its background dating from 1885.

The cities and towns by this time had become so numerous that they will not be listed again, but instead the percentage of the population of each region living in communities of different sizes will be given. First, cities with over 8,000 inhabitants, which was used as the lower limit of urban population in 1880 and 1890. The next dividing point is 2,500, which has been the arbitrary limit of urban population in the census since 1900. The third group includes all other incorporated places with more than 1,000 inhabitants.

The enumeration of farms is said to have been less complete in 1890 than in 1880, but it is difficult to discover any evidence of that in the Georgia figures.

On account of the increasing proportion of negro farmers since emancipation, statistics of the average farms of both races combined now mean very little, but the races were not separated in the agricultural statistics of 1890. So instead of computing the acreage, value of property, number of animals, etc., *per farm*, the ratios are now given *per square mile*. And a column giving the same data for the whole state in 1880 is added to the first table, to show what changes had taken place in these respects in ten years, and also to establish a better connection between this article and the first one. For each region the percentage of increase of population since 1880 is also given. Separate figures for

1 To save the reader the trouble of looking through several pages of the former article to pick out the names of the counties used to typify each region, they will be listed again here all together, as follows:

Appalachian Valley:— Bartow, Catoosa, Chattooga, Dade, Floyd, Gordon, Murray, Polk, Walker, Whitfield.

Blue Ridge:—Fannin, Gilmer, Pickens, Rabun, Towns, Union.

Upper Piedmont:—Banks, Campbell, Carroll, Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Forsyth, Franklin, Fulton, Gwinnett, Habersham, Hall, Haralson, Hart, Jackson, Madison, Milton, Paulding, Walton.

Lower Piedmont:—Baldwin, Butts, Columbia, Greene, Hancock, Harris, Jasper, Jones, Lincoln, McDuffie, Meriwether, Monroe, Morgan, Oglethorpe, Pike, Putnam, Spalding, Talbot, Taliaferro, Troup, Upson, Warren, Wilkes.

turkeys, geese and ducks on farms are available for the first time in 1890, but those birds are so few in comparison with chickens that they will be lumped together.

(In all the tables in which different regions are contrasted, the printers inadvertently set the highest number in each line in italics and the lowest in heavy type, just the reverse of what was done in the two preceding articles. But it would be so much trouble to re-set seven tables that they have been allowed to stand as they are.)

TABLE 1.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF UPPER GEORGIA, 1889-90.

	Appalachian Valley	Blue Ridge	Upper Piedmont	Lower Piedmont	Whole State 1890	Whole State 1880
Inhabitants per square mile ..	40.1	22.2	*54.5*	38.5	31.2	26.2
Per cent increase since 1880 ..	14.5	18.1	11.4	**5.6**	*19.1*	.....
Per cent white	77.0	*97.8*	72.6	**36.4**	53.3	53.0
Per cent colored	23.0	2.2	27.4	*63.6*	46.7	47.0
Per cent in cities of over 8,000	0	0	*17.8*	0	10.8	7.3
Per cent in cities of 2,500-8,000	*9.8*	0	1.8	4.1	3.2	2.1
Per cent in cities of 1,000-2,500	1.2	0	1.7	*2.8*	2.6	2.7
Per cent of land improved	30.1	**15.7**	36.2	*42.5*	25.6	21.9
Improved acres per inhabitant	4.9	4.5	**4.3**	*7.1*	5.2	5.3
Value of farm land and bldgs. per square mile	4130	1330	*4800*	3730	2590	1905
Value of implements and machinery per square mile ..	137	**39**	136	*139*	98	90
Value of live-stock per sq. m.	*790*	**375**	755	754	536	441
No. of horses per sq. mile....	*3.4*	1.8	2.5	1.9	**1.76**	1.68
No. of mules per sq. mile	3.6	**1.4**	4.3	*4.5*	2.67	2.26
No. of work oxen per sq. mile	1.0	*3.2*	1.5	**0.6**	0.84	0.85
No. of milch cows per sq. mile	6.6	5.1	*6.9*	5.0	**4.90**	5.37
No. of other cattle per sq. mile	*10.5*	8.2	9.1	**6.8**	9.15	9.30
No. of sheep per sq. mile	8.3	*19.3*	5.0	**1.6**	7.50	9.00
No. of hogs per sq. mile	*28.1*	25.4	*23.2*	**21.3**	23.8	25.1
No. of chickens per sq. mile ..	*242*	157	*279*	160	**125**	39
No. of other poultry per sq. m.	*23.0*	19.0	12.3	**7.8**	9.3	20.0
Cost of fertilizers per sq. m...	61.5	**4.14**	*156*	145	97.60	74.00
Value of f. products per sq. m.	1360	**440**	1920	*2450*	1420	1143
Cost of fertilizer per impr. acre	*.32*	**.04**	*.67*	*.52*	.60	.53
Value of farm products per impr. acre	7.07	**4.37**	8.29	*9.02*	8.70	8.17
Per cent of impr. land in cotton	21.8	**2.4**	32.2	*40.0*	34.9	31.9
Per cent of impr. land in corn	29.4	*42.7*	26.6	**21.2**	27.0	30.9
Per cent of impr. land in oats	*8.0*	5.3	7.2	**4.3**	5.4	7.5
Per cent of impr. land in wheat	6.5	*8.3*	5.0	**1.2**	2.1	5.8
Bales of cotton per acre	.35	**.21**	.36	*.37*	.36	.31
Bushels of corn per acre	*16.8*	13.9	13.2	**11.0**	11.3	9.2
Bushels of oats per acre	*9.9*	7.1	8.1	9.7	9.2	9.0
Bushels of wheat per acre	*6.5*	**4.4**	5.2	6.4	5.6	6.7

From Table 1 it appears that every region in upper Georgia increased substantially in population between 1880 and 1890, and the proportions of whites and negroes did not change much. The cities grew faster than the country, as usual, and although in the whole state there appears to have been a slight decrease in the 1,000 to 2,500 class, that is easily explained by several places which had a little less than 2,500 people in 1880 getting above that limit by 1890. The only city with over 8,000 was Atlanta, but that already had over one-sixth of the population of the Upper Piedmont. (Of course the fall-line cities of Augusta, Macon and Columbus belong partly to the Lower Piedmont, and if the counties containing them had been included it would have made a considerable difference in the urban population, as well as a little difference in farm values, etc.)

The percentage of improved land increased, by clearing away the forests, in every region, at approximately the same rate as the population. The value of farm property increased too, though the census figures do not show that adequately, on account of the fall in prices of commodities which had been in progress ever since the seventies.

The number of four-footed animals, except sheep and hogs, increased in most regions. The number of chickens more than trebled in every region, if the census figures are correct (but I have seen no explanation of such a great change, and there may be some mistake about it), but other poultry fell off. It is interesting to note (though I have not brought it out in the tables and cannot explain it) that the upper Piedmont had only about half as many turkeys as ducks, and one and a half times as many geese as ducks, while the lower Piedmont had six times as many turkeys and eight times as many geese as ducks.

The expenditure for fertilizer per improved acre remained about the same as in 1880, but the quantity used must have been somewhat greater. There was little increase in the value of products per acre, even when the decline of prices is taken into consideration. There was a growing tendency to specialize in cotton, except in the lower Piedmont, while corn, oats and wheat fell off in every

region. But of course the acreage and yield of every crop fluctuates from year to year, and the census years may have been above or below normal in those respects. The yield of corn and oats per acre seems to have increased and that of wheat decreased, but all that may have been due to weather, insects, or something of the sort.

The census of 1900 brought several innovations. Most significant for our purposes is that the number of white and colored farmers was given for the first time, and quite a variety of data about them for whole states, but nothing by counties except classifying them by tenure. ("Colored" includes Indians and Mongolians as well as negroes, but there are not enough red and yellow farmers in Georgia to affect the ratios perceptibly.)

The value of farm buildings was now separated from that of land and fences, so that for the first time we can calculate the average value of farm land per acre. (But even yet separate values are not given for improved and unimproved land, which of course differ considerably.) Some of the animals were divided into several classes according to age, sex, etc. (eight for cattle alone), but that is more detail than it is practicable to use in a magazine of this sort, so that those distinctions will be ignored for the present. Goats and bees are now returned for the first time.

The counties were the same as in 1890, and I have not detected any errors in either census.

In Table 2 the value of property, number of animals, etc., in each region is given per square mile as before, but another table (3) is added to show the contrasts between white and colored farmers in the whole state, such data not being available for separate regions or counties in 1900. For this table separate figures could have been computed for the various tenure classes of each race ,but that would have been tiresome for both writer and reader, and would be more appropriate for an agricultural or economic than a historical treatise. Likewise a mass of detail could have been given about the acreage and yield of different crops in each region, but that too would have been too much of an under-

taking. (Some such data for 1919 are given farther on, though.)

TABLE 2.

GENERAL AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF UPPER GEORGIA, 1899-1900.

	Appalachian Valley	Blue Ridge	Upper Piedmont	Lower Piedmont	Whole State
Inhabitants per square mile	44.7	25.5	*71.5*	41.8	37.6
Per cent increase since 1890	11.5	14.2	*21.6*	8.3	20.6
Per cent white	78.4	*97.6*	72.4	35.4	53.3
Per cent colored	21.6	2.4	27.6	*64.6*	46.7
Per cent in cities of over 2,500	12.2	0	*22.1*	6.1	15.6
Per cent of land improved	32.6	17.2	*39.9*	38.6	28.1
Improved acres per inhabitant	4.8	4.3	3.8	*5.9*	4.8
Per cent of farmers white	85.7	*99.2*	82.0	43.6	63.2
Per cent of white farmers owners	42.1	*64.4*	43.1	46.0	50.8
Per cent of white farmers cash tenants	7.4	1.2	10.5	*35.0*	17.0
Per cent of w. farmers share tenants	*45.3*	31.7	42.3	14.5	*27.7*
Per cent of colored farmers owners	18.1	*29.8*	8.0	5.5	11.5
Per cent of c. farmers cash tenants	11.2	0	16.5	*52.5*	42.0
Per cent of c. farmers share tenants	66.4	58.0	*72.8*	40.3	44.1
Value of farm land per acre ($)	7.30	2.40	*7.95*	6.05	5.26
Value of farm property per sq. m. ($)	4496	2087	*6717*	4927	3920
No. of horses per sq. mile	*3.9*	2.1	3.6	2.6	2.16
No. of mules per sq. mile	4.6	2.5	*5.6*	5.0	3.53
No. of cattle per sq. mile	15.3	13.2	*17.7*	12.2	15.3
No. of sheep per sq. mile	5.6	*14.6*	2.0	0.9	5.73
No. of goats per sq mile	1.1	0.6	0.2	1.4	*1.46*
No. of hogs per sq. mile	23.7	*29.3*	17.2	18.3	24.2
No. of chickens and guineas per sq. m.	117	55	*133*	86	77.5
No. of other poultry per sq. mile	*10.4*	7.2	6.0	4.9	6.4
No. of colonies of bees per sq. mile	6.2	6.9	*7.2*	2.7	3.2
Cost of labor per improved acre ($)	.36	.11	.38	*.98*	.68
Cost of fertilizers per impr. acre ($)	.35	.06	.66	.66	.54
Value of products not fed to stock, per improved acre	8.40	6.90	9.66	*11.40*	8.68

The population continued to increase, particularly in the upper Piedmont, where Atlanta and other cities were growing rapidly. The percentage of improved land increased a little, except, in the lower Piedmont, which is now surpassed by the upper Piedmont in that respect. The number of improved acres per inhabitant decreased a little in every region, on account of the growth of cities and increased intensity of farming.

The percentage of whites among farm operators was everywhere greater than in the aggregate population, show-the tendency of rural negroes (at that place and time, but not necessarily everywhere and always) to be hired laborers rather than farm owners or tenants. There were more tenants than owners, even among the whites, except in the mountains, where land was cheap and therefore easy to own.

The value of farm property per square mile seems to have increased in most of the regions, although average prices were lower in 1900 than in 1890 (and almost the lowest in the whole history of the United States, the bottom having been reached in 1896-7, just before the opening up of the Klondike and a few other important gold fields.)

In most of the regions the number of horses, mules and cattle increased and sheep, hogs and poultry decreased, but that may not mean much, except in the case of sheep, which in the South and West are raised mostly on free range and were steadily losing ground with the extension of the cultivated area. In the whole state only about 7% of the horses and 3% of the mules were under two years old, showing that these animals were no longer raised much in Georgia, but mostly imported. The percentage of young animals was above the state average though in the Appalachian Valley, where conditions are more like those in Kentucky and Missouri, and in the Blue Ridge, where difficulties of transportation compel the farmers to depend more on their own resources.

The differences between white and colored farmers (Table 3) are just about what we should expect from two races differing so in efficiency and standards of living. Some northern writers have given the negro special credit for having a larger proportion of his land improved than the white man, but that is doubtless merely because he cannot afford to own or rent much wild land, and has fewer cattle to be pastured. For this reason his land is usually worth a little more per acre than that of the average white man in the same region. There is not as much difference in value of products per acre as one who had not given the matter

any thought might expect, for the negro's improved land is necessarily assessed at about the same figure as that of his white neighbor, and if he did not make nearly as much off of it he would be unable to pay the rent or taxes. The difference between the two races is much more in the number of acres cultivated than in the production per acre. It seems that the ratio between efficiency and standards of living is much the same for whites as for negroes, all over the South, which tends to keep their relative numbers about the same from year to year when there is no disturbing influence. (If a race of farmers with high efficiency combined with low

TABLE 3.

STATISTICS OF WHITE AND COLORED FARMERS IN GEORGIA, 1899-1900.

	White	Colored
Per cent of total	63.2	36.8
Average number of acres per farm	147.4	66.1
Average number of improved acres per farm	51.4	40.2
Value of farm land per acre ($)	5.07	5.95
Value of land per farm ($)	747	393
Value of buildings per farm ($)	268	82
Value of implements and machinery ($)	57	20
Value of live-stock ($)	194	93
Per cent of farms specializing in cotton	62.9	86.8
Per cent of farms specializing in hay and grain	10.6	3.6
Per cent of farms specializing in live-stock	7.0	1.0
Cost of labor (1899) per farm ($)	43	15
Cost of fertilizers per farm ($)	29	20
Value of products not fed to live-stock, per farm	458	328
Cost of labor (1899) per improved acre 1900	.83	.36
Cost of fertilizers per improved acre 1900	.56	.51
Value of products not fed, per improved acre 1900	8.90	8.20
Number of horses per farm	.72	.31
Number of mules per farm	.98	.82
Number of dairy cows per farm	1.59	.62
Number of other cows per farm	1.04	.20
Number of other cattle per farm	2.80	.76
Number of sheep per farm	2.34	.04
Number of goats per farm	.54	.09
Number of hogs per farm	8.06	3.42
Acres of cotton per farm	13.9	18.6
Acres of corn per farm	17.1	12.7
Acres of oats per farm	1.9	0.6
Acres of wheat per farm	1.9	0.5
Bales of cotton per acre	.36	.33
Bushels of corn per acre	10.5	8.2
Bushels of oats per acre	9.9	9.1
Bushels of wheat per acre	5.5	5.5

standards of living, like the Japanese, should once get a foothold, they might crowd out many of the whites and negroes.)

About 1905 the new-county fever broke out in Georgia, after being dormant for a quarter of a century, but it resulted in only one new county in the northern half of the state, namely, Stephens, in the upper Piedmont. As that is entirely surrounded by other upper Piedmont counties, it made no difference in the area, but simply made one more row of figures to be copied and added.

The census of 1910 was the most complete we have had so far. It was taken in April instead of in June as before, probably so as to find more city people at home, but the new date was of no particular advantage for an agricultural census, unless the farmers could remember their operations of the year before better in April than in June. On account of many farm animals being born in spring, their numbers in April of one year are not closely comparable with those in June of another.[4]

The 13th census gave the expenditures for stock feed for the first time, and more details about crops and animal products than ever before; and in a special volume published late in 1918 the farming operations of whites and negroes in 1900-10 were analyzed in considerable detail, by counties. There is indeed more information in the reports of that census than we can conveniently use; for example, the classification of animals by age and sex, statistics of farm mortgages, and many details about crops. But the value of each crop in each county is not given, so that if one wished to determine the relative importance of different crops in each region, it would be necessary to assume that the values per bushel or other unit are the same throughout the state, and multiply the regional totals by the state average values per unit. Some of the crops cannot even be compared on an acreage basis, for the acreage in peaches, apples, etc., is not given, but instead the number of trees. Worse still,

4 November would seem to be the best month for a census in the United States, except in the coldest and warmest portions. For then nearly everybody is at home, and the crops are mostly made, and the statsitics of acreage, fertilizers, crops, etc., would all pertain to the same year.

several important crops, such as tomatoes, cabbage, watermelons, cantaloupes and numerous others are lumped together in the county tables under the head of "vegetables."

One serious error in the 1910 census figures for upper Georgia has been noticed. The receipts from the sale of animals in Cherokee County are given as $685,884, which is about one-tenth of the state total, and more than the total value of live-stock in that county given on another page. But I have recently ascertained by correspondence

TABLE 4.

General Agricultural Statistics of Upper Georgia, 1909-10.

	Appalachian Valley	Blue Ridge	Upper Piedmont	Lower Piedmont	Whole State
Inhabitants per square mile	49.2	24.2	*83.3*	44.5	44.4
Per cent increase since 1900	12.4	—4.6	*25.6*	6.5	17.7
Per cent white	81.1	*98.1*	73.7	35.9	54.9
Per cent colored	18.9	1.9	26.3	*64.1*	45.1
Per cent in cities of over 2,500	14.9	0	*32.0*	6.2	20.6
Per cent of land improved	37.0	17.0	*43.0*	42.6	32.8
Improved acres per inhabitant	4.8	4.5	3.3	*6.1*	4.7
Value of farm land per acre ($)	13.04	5.21	*20.90*	13.85	13.74
Value of farm property per sq. mile	10330	3685	*17430*	11200	9880
Number of horses per square mile	*3.7*	1.2	3.1	2.3	2.04
Number of mules per square mile	5.9	2.3	8.0	*6.6*	5.03
Number of dairy cows per square mile	8.3	5.6	*10.7*	7.3	6.92
Number of other cattle per square mile	9.3	8.4	9.1	7.3	*11.5*
Number of sheep per square mile	3.3	*12.4*	0.5	0.3	3.2
Number of goats per square mile	*0.9*	0.3	0.2	0.8	1.53
Number of hogs per square mile	15.2	17.2	12.4	17.9	*30.4*
Number of poultry per square mile	134	75	*145*	95	90.8
Number of colonies of bees per sq. m.	3.3	4.0	*5 .2*	1.6	*2.22*
Av. value of horses per head ($)	102	89	112	*122*	118
Av. value of mules per head ($)	130	114	138	149	149
Av. value of cattle per head ($)	15.40	14.26	*17.40*	16.50	13.00
Av. value of sheep per head ($)	2.20	1.49	2.13	*2.35*	1.64
Av. value of goats per head ($)	1.50	1.54	*2.01*	1.32	0.79
Av. value of hogs per head	4.53	2.85	*6.72*	4.24	3.05
Av. value of poultry per head ($)	.39	.40	*.42*	.37	0.39
Cost of labor and board per impr. acre	.59	.29	.70	*1.09*	1.08
Cost of fertilizers per impr acre	.62	.25	*1.37*	1.18	1.38
Cost of feed per impr. acre	.29	.30	.49	*.53*	.33
Value of crops per impr. acre	12.90	9.41	*19.75*	18.90	18.50
Value of animal products per impr. a.	3.11	*4.33*	3.46	1.77	2.43

that the correct figure is probably $55,884, and that has been used accordingly.

In Table 4 the values of farm property and number of animals have been calculated per square mile as before, and a section is added for the value of animals per head, which shows some interesting differences between different regions. In Table 5 is set forth the number per farm and average value per head of different kinds of animals belonging to white and colored farmers in the whole state, these data not being available by counties.

TABLE 5.

STATISTICS OF LIVE-STOCK ON FARMS OF WHITE AND COLORED FARMERS IN GEORGIA, 1910.

	White	Colored
Number of horses per farm	0.54	0.23
Number of mules per farm	1.10	0.90
Number of dairy cows per farm	1.78	0.86
Number of other cattle per farm	3.33	0.92
Number of sheep per farm	1.10	0.02
Number of goats per farm	0.48	0.07
Number of hogs per farm	7.80	3.87
Number of poultry per farm	22.9	11.9
Number of colonies of bees per farm	0.72	0.08
Average value of horses per head ($)	121.00	111.00
Average value of mules per head ($)	149.60	147.00
Average value of cattle per head ($)	12.80	13.85
Average value of sheep per head ($)	1.64	1.66
Average value of goats per head ($)	0.78	0.80
Average value of hogs per had ($)	3.03	3.01
Average value of poultry per head ($)	0.40	0.38
Value of all animals per farm ($)	332.00	199.50

Tables 6 and 7 give nearly all the information about white and negro farmers in each region that can be extracted from the special volume on negro population previously mentioned. The census unfortunately has not published for 1910 (or any other period) the production and sale of milk, eggs, meat, etc., for the two races separately, even by states, although at the beginning of the third agricultural table for each southeastern state there are two empty columns (headed white and colored) which could have been filled with such information as easily as not. Thus a great opportunity to compare the dietary standards of the two

races was let slip. For the difference between the amount produced and the amount sold, divided by the number of farms, gives approximately the amount consumed by the average farm family in the census year.

Between 1900 and 1910 the population of all regions in upper Georgia except the Blue Ridge increased as usual, especially in the cities, and the proportions of whites and negroes remained about the same. The ratio of improved land to population did not change much. The 13th Census was the first one to give separate figures for foreign-born farmers, but it did not give much information about them except the numbers of owners, managers, tenants, etc., just as the 12th census did for colored farmers. They constitute only a fraction of one per cent of all white farmers in Georgia, so that it is not worth while to say much about them, but it may be noted in passing that the percentage of farm owners among the foreigners was much higher than among native whites, in every region. Statistics of rural illiteracy show similar differences between natives and for-

TABLE 6.

STATISTICS OF WHITE FARMERS IN UPPER GEORGIA, 1909-10.

	Appalachian Valley	Blue Ridge	Upper Piedmont	Lower Piedmont	Whole State
Per cent of total in region	85.2	*99.2*	79.4	35.7	57.8
Per cent foreign-born	.27	.13	.27	.16	.23
Per cent owners and part owners	43.8	*64.7*	42.7	47.5	49.2
Per cent managers	0.5	0.5	0.3	*0.9*	0.7
Per cent tenants	55.8	34.8	*56.8*	51.7	50.1
Average number of acres per farm	90.0	117.0	66.7	114.5	*118.0*
Average number impr. acres per farm	41.6	29.8	32.0	*53.3*	44.6
Value of farm land per acre ($)	12.82	5.20	*20.30*	13.95	13.32
Value of farm land per farm ($)	1160	610	1355	*1600*	1573
Value of buildings per farm ($)	384	187	456	*637*	510
Value of implements and machinery	74	34	77	*129*	97
Number of dairy cows per farm	1.47	1.54	1.30	1.72	*1.78*
Number of work horses per farm	0.60	?	0.38	*0.61*	0.51
Number of work mules per farm	1.03	?	0.94	*1.28*	1.09
Acres of cotton per farm	9.9	0.8	12.2	*21.4*	14.3
Acres of corn per farm	9.5	10.6	8.3	12.1	*12.5*
Bales of cotton per acre	.38	.36	*.44*	.42	.44
Bushels of corn per acre	12.8	*13.1*	12.3	11.8	12.6

eigners in the South—but the relations are reversed in the North and West, where foreigners are much more numerous and relatively inferior. (Some 1920 statistics for foreign farmers will be given farther on.)

The value of farm land per acre and of farm property per square mile apparently more than doubled, but most of that was due to increased gold production in Alaska and elsewhere, which made money cheaper and caused a rise of about 66 2/3% in the average prices of farm products during the decade. About 1910 some of the Georgia papers were full of accounts of sales of farm lands at the highest prices ever known (as if their value was just beginning to be appreciated), and at the same time there was a great outcry all over the country about the "high cost of living," which was regarded as a calamity and ascribed to all sorts of causes besides the real one, the mere cheapening of money. The highest land values are in the upper Piedmont, not because of any intrinsic superiority, but simply because the population is densest there.

Horses decreased a little in number, and sheep still more so, while mules, cows, hogs and chickens increased. The values of animals in different regions show some interesting variations. Horses and mules are cheapest in the Blue Ridge, probably because there is a larger proportion of young animals there than elsewhere, which brings down the average. The low value of hogs and sheep in the same region is doubtless correlated with the abundance of free range, on which inferior animals can be raised at small cost. (This will be illustrated still more strikingly in the next article, on lower Georgia.)

The cost of labor increased in about the same proportion as other prices, but fertilizers more, presumably indicating an increased use of the latter. High expenditures and crop values generally go with high land values, so that as population increases agriculture inevitably becomes more intensive; and the limit of the number of people that can be supported by a given area of land is still undetermined.

Table 5 shows that the negro farmer in Georgia has fewer animals of almost every description than his white neighbor, and they are apt to be less valuable. Cattle, sheep and goats are an apparent exception to the last statement, but that is easily explained by the fact that so many of them are scrubby animals on free range in the piney woods of South Georgia, where the farmers are mostly white.

TABLE 7.

STATISTICS OF NEGRO FARMERS IN UPPER GEORGIA, 1909-10.

	Appalachian Valley	Blue Ridge	Upper Piedmont	Lower Piedmont	Whole State
Per cent of total in region	14.8	0.8	20.6	*64.3*	42.2
Per cent owners and part owners ...	24.4	*53.5*	11.5	7.2	12.8
Per cent tenants	75.6	46.5	88.5	*92.7*	87.1
Average number of acres per farm ...	49.3	*64.3*	44.0	60.3	57.9
Average number impr. acres per farm	32.0	20.0	30.2	38.5	*39.1*
Value of farm land per acre ($)	15.25	9.33	*24.40*	14.09	14.93
Vaule of farm land per farm ($)	750	618	*1075*	820	864
Value of buildings per farm	169	124	*214*	181	188
Value of implements and machinery..	35	18	*29*	*37*	37
Number of dairy cows per farm	*1.01*	?	.81	.86	.86
Number of work horses per farm ...	.27	?	.17	.21	.23
Number of work mules per farm	.89	?	.77	*.94*	.90
Acres of cotton per farm	14.1	?	16.3	*21.7*	20.1
Acres of corn per farm	7.5	?	6.6	8.5	*10.5*
Bales of cotton per acre	.32	?	*.38*	.35	.38
Bushels of corn per acre	10.0	?	9.8	9.0	*10.1*

Turning now to the separate tables (6 and 7) for white and negro farmers, a few of their salient features may be pointed out. The largest farms for both races are in the Blue Ridge, but there they consist mostly of cheap wild land, so that the total area of farms does not mean much. The most improved acres per farm are in the lower Piedmont, showing that the influence of the large plantations of ante-bellum days is still felt. In value of land and buildings per farm the most prosperous whites are in the lower Piedmont, where there are plenty of negroes to do the work, while the most prosperous negroes are in the upper Piedmont, where they have plenty of white neighbors to set the pace for them. (White women can be seen working in

the fields almost any day in the upper Piedmont, but rarely if ever in the lower Piedmont.) Both races specialize in cotton most in the lower Piedmont, but make the highest yields in the upper Piedmont, where the higher land values spur them to greater activity.

By 1920 there was one more county in the upper Piedmont (Barrow), but no new ones in the other regions. The census of 1920 was taken in January, when a good many farmers, especially tenants, had just moved to new locations and were therefore not prepared to give very accurate information about their holdings. (But if they all reported their operations of the previous year correctly perhaps no serious errors resulted when all the returns were consolidated.) The whole country was still somewhat unsettled on account of the recent world war (the price inflation not having reached its peak until the latter half of 1920, and some of the social and industrial disturbances being still in progress at this writing), so that the 14th Census may not have been as accurate as some of its predecessors. The value of live-stock products was returned less completely than before, figures for animals sold and slaughtered not being attempted at all.

Otherwise the scope of the agricultural census was most nearly like that of 1900; white and negro farmers being separated in the county tables only as to number and tenure. For the whole state the returns are analyzed more minutely, though, and there are now some separate figures for foreign white farmers of different nationalities. The number of female farmers was given for the first time, but that does not mean much, for they are probably mostly widows, operating farms for a short time between the administrations of husband and sons. (The principal difference between men's and women's farms is that the latter are smaller on the average.) For whole states the number of farms having telephones, automobiles, etc. was given, but as the

races are not separated the totals mean very little in the South.[1]

Cattle in 1920 were divided into two classes, dairy and beef, and then subdivided according to age, sex, etc., as before. This was a welcome innovation, but it makes it impracticable to compare the 1920 figures with earlier ones unless all cattle are lumped together.

For the main table (8) the value of farm property and

TABLE 8.

GENERAL AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF UPPER GEORGIA, 1919-20.

	Appalachian Valley	Blue Ridge	Upper Piedmont	Lower Piedmont	Whole State
Inhabitants per square mile	52.0	23.0	*98.0*	46.8	49.3
Per cent increase since 1910	5.7	—5.1	*17.9*	5.1	11.0
Per cent white	84.1	*98.3*	75.2	**40.0**	58.3
Per cent colored	15.9	1.7	24.8	*60.0*	41.7
Per cent in cities with over 2500	15.2	0	*38.3*	11.3	25.1
Per cent of land improved	38.7	15.1	*43.6*	40.3	34.8
Improved acres per inhabitant	4.8	4.8	**2.9**	*5.5*	4.5
Per cent of farmers white	86.4	*99.6*	78.2	**35.5**	58.1
Per cent of white farmers owners ...	45.1	*67.6*	**42.7**	45.5	47.7
Per cent of white farmers tenants ...	54.6	**31.8**	*57.0*	53.7	51.5
Per cent of colored farmers owners ..	23.6	*70.4*	10.4	**8.5**	12.3
Per cent of colored farmers tenants ..	76.3	**25.9**	89.5	*91.4*	87.5
Value of farm land per acre $)	30.60	**13.10**	*59.70*	36.20	35.28
Value of farm property per sq. m...	23500	**7710**	*43700*	24980	23100
Number of horses per square mile ...	*3.7*	**1.2**	2.7	1.8	1.7
Number of mules per square mile ...	7.6	**3.0**	*11.8*	8.3	6.9
Number of beef cattle per square mile	2.7	4.4	1.3	2.8	*8.2*
Number of dairy cattle per square mile	14.9	**8.8**	*19.4*	13.2	11.5
Number of sheep per square mile....	1.3	*4.2*	**0.1**	0.2	1.2
Number of goats per square mile ...	1.0	0.3	**0.2**	0.6	*1.9*
Number of hogs per square mile ...	**18.1**	22.5	19.0	22.9	*35.2*
Number of chickens per square mile..	196	**104**	*224*	118	123
Number of other poultry per sq. m...	*7.9*	4.3	**4.2**	5.3	6.7
Number of colonies of bees per sq. m.	4.5	*6.4*	5.0	**1.3**	2.3
Cost of labor per improved acre ($) ..	.80	**.35**	1.01	*1.81*	1.46
Cost of fertilizers per impr. acre ($)..	1.86	**.72**	4.10	*4.11*	3.54
Cost of stock feed per impr. acre ($)	1.10	**.79**	*1.36*	1.03	**0.73**
Value of crops per impr. acre ($)...	44.00	**24.70**	*63.80*	47.80	41.45

1 The number of farms in Georgia reporting automobiles was 47,173. If we assume that 45,000 of the car-owning farmers were white, which is a conservative estimate, about one white farmer in four had a car. This is just about the same ratio as in New England.

number of animals are computed on a per square mile basis, for the same reason as in 1890 and 1900. Table 9, which could have been combined with 8 if there had been room enough on the page, gives the percentage of improved land in each of several important crops in 1919, and the average yield per acre, in each region.

Table 10 gives what ratios are available for native white, foreign white and negro farmers in the whole state in 1920. The returns for foreigners are less complete than for natives, or rather total whites, but in the last table (11) a few separate figures for different nationalities of foreign farmers are given. This last may not seem to have much bearing on Georgia history, but if the number of foreigners should increase, and similar or more complete data should be given by future censuses, it will be interesting to see to what extent the same nationalities maintain their relative rank in standards of living after they settle in Georgia. Similar figures for the same nationalities in other states

TABLE 9.

ACREAGE AND YIELD OF LEADING CROPS IN UPPER GEORGIA, 1919, BY REGIONS.

	Appalachian Valley	Blue Ridge	Upper Piedmont	Lower Piedmont	Whole State
Percentage of improved land in					
Cotton	29.9	**3.8**	46.2	*47.0*	**36.2**
Corn	**27.3**	*34.7*	29.5	27.8	32.8
Oats	0.49	**0.37**	0.82	1.14	*1.44*
Wheat	2.48	*3.70*	2.03	**0.97**	1.08
Peanuts	0.044	**0**	0.055	0.056	*0.155*
Irish potatoes	0.18	*0.60*	0.10	**0.06**	0.09
Sweet potatoes	**0.44**	0.52	0.74	0.69	*0.84*
Sorghum (for syrup)	0.43	*1.23*	0.56	0.47	**0.29**
Yield per acre					
Cotton (bales)	.474	.414	*.512*	.372	**.356**
Corn (bushels)	*15.8*	15.2	14.4	**12.0**	12.1
Oats (bushels)	14.0	**9.2**	13.2	*15.9*	14.7
Wheat (bushels)	7.1	**5.9**	7.3	*8.7*	7.7
Peanuts (bushels)	18.2	.....	*19.7*	17.5	18.9
Irish potatoes (bushels)	60.8	**58.4**	*67.6*	65.2	62.0
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	97.0	**80.6**	*103.2*	88.3	92.1
Sorghum (gals. syrup)	*52.5*	51.4	**43.8**	48.0	48.8

could of course be computed right now, but that would be entirely outside of the scope of this paper.

Between 1910 and 1920 the population decreased again in the Blue Ridge, and increased fastest in the upper Piedmont, which has the most cities. (The rate of increase in rural population there was only 7%, though, while in the lower Piedmont it was practically at a standstill.) The percentage of whites increased in every region, for at least two independent reasons. The boll-weevil swept across the state during the decade and put many negro cotton pickers out of business, and the stoppage of immigration during the war made a shortage of unskilled and semi-skilled labor in northern factories, which was supplied by a great migration of negroes from all over the South. Pre-war conditions in this respect will probably never be restored, for during the war period many labor-saving devices, such as washing machines and tractors, were introduced both in the homes and on the farms, and they are not likely to be discarded, so that the South can get along very well indefinitely with fewer negroes than formerly. (If a successful cotton-picking machine should ever be invented it would doubtless cause a great slump in the negro population.)

Improved land changed very little, and improved acres per inhabitant decreased in most of the state. In comparing values with those of 1910 it should be borne in mind that on account of the inflation of the war period average commodity prices of 1920 were just about double those of 1910; but farm property must have gone up a little more than most other things, for the value in dollars was more than double in every region.

Horses and sheep decreased in numbers, as in the previous decade, while mules, hogs and poultry increased. Some of the horses were doubtless replaced by automobiles, but tractors do not seem to have superseded mules in Georgia to any considerable extent yet.

The expenditures for labor did not keep pace with the rise of prices, showing that more of the farmers did their own work in 1919 than ever before. At the same time the

expenditures for fertilizer per acre about trebled, which may indicate that a larger quantity was used. The expenditures for feed increased nearly as much. The value of crops of course went up in a proportionate manner, but that of animal products cannot be estimated, for the reason given about three pages back.

Table 9 brings out a few interesting points about the acreage and yield of various crops in 1919. The acreage of cotton was about the same as in 1909, but the yield decreased, owing mostly to the boll-weevil, which entered the western part of the state in 1915 and migrated all the way across in a few years. The infestation must have been heaviest southward, though, judging by the low yield of cotton in the lower Piedmont and especially its western portion, and the farmers in the upper Piedmont seem to have made extra efforts to get a large yield in spite of the weevil, doubtless stimulated by the high price (about 36 cents a pound for the whole 1919 crop). Other crops were being substituted for cotton in some sections,[1] particularly peanuts, the acreage and yield of which have both increased largely in Georgia since the census first reported on them in 1890.

TABLE 10.

STATISTICS OF WHITE AND COLORED FARMERS IN GEORGIA, 1920.

	Native white	Foreign white	Negro
Per cent of total	58.0	0.1	41.9
Per cent owners and part owners	47.7	74.7	12.3
Per cent managers	0.8	4.9	0.2
Per cent tenants	51.5	20.4	87.5
Per cent of women farmers	3.3	?	6.2
Average number of acres per farm	101.4	221.5	54.3
Average number improved acres per farm	45.3	53.4	37.5
Value of farm land per acre ($)	34.37	?	37.62
Value of farm land per farm ($)	3500	19,200	2045
Value of buildings per farm ($)	1000		435
Value of implements and machinery	280	?	99
Value of live-stock per farm	610	?	347

1 On a trip from Athens to Macon (mostly through the lower Piedmont) on June 21, 1922, I saw very little cotton south of Madison. In Jasper and Jones Counties peaches are now one of the most important crops.

Variations in the yield of most of the other crops may be due to vicissitudes of weather, etc., but in the case of Irish potatoes, which had a lower yield than usual, it is possible that the soils were feeling the effects of a shortage of potash brought about by the war. This did not seem to affect sweet potatoes, which are commonly grown in poorer soils.

TABLE 11.

SELECTED STATISTICS OF FOREIGN WHITE FARMERS IN GEORGIA, 1920, BY PRINCIPAL NATIONALITIES.

Nationality	No. of farmers	% of total foreign	Acres per farm		Value of Land & Buildings
			Total	Impr.	
German	81	24.7	173	60	31,300
English	51	15.6	189	59	22,700
Canadian	29	8.7	113	58	11,810
Swedish	16	4.9	169	50	8,370
Swiss	14	4.3	83	57	10,810
Dutch	14	4.3	155	66	11,510
Irish	14	4.3	92	48	4,230
Scotch	13	4.0	252	50	13,600
Austrian	13	4.0	128	30	2,610
Russian	11	3.4	1330	44	10,290
Hungarian	11	3.4	62	34	4,150

Table 10 shows much the same differences between white and negro farmers as before, and also that the few foreign white farmers in Georgia have larger and better farms than average native. It appears from Table 11 that different nationalities are very unequal in that respect, but in order to draw any important conclusions about them it would be necessary to compute similar data for neighboring states, and also for the North and West, where foreigners are more numerous and often less efficient than in the South.

In the next article the principal agricultural changes that have taken place in the whole state and its several regions between 1850 and 1920 will be summed up by means of diagrams and otherwise, which ought to give some idea of what further developments may be expected in the near future.

HOWELL COBB PAPERS

Edited by
R. P. BOOOKS, Ph.D.,
University of Georgia.

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE.

Washington City, June 6th, 1857.

My dear Wife:

I have at length got a house and I think a good one, and in a healthy location. It is on the same street with Mrs. Clayton in sight of Gen. Cass on one side and Gov. Floyd and Judge Campbell on the other. It is a house belonging to Capt. Montgomery of the Navy and I have to pay eighteen hundred dollars a year rent for it. When your Bro. John was leaving we went through the house together, and he preferred it to any of those I was looking at. It is only a square from the grounds in front of the President's house, where the Jackson statue is, so that the children will be able to make that their play ground in good weather. I have sent the measurement of the parlor and other rooms to your Bro. John for him to buy our furniture in New York. I now expect to have everything ready to give you a welcome into your own home on your arrival.

As I was walking out yesterday, I met the President and he asked if I had got a house. I told him, yes, and the price. Says he, "you are rich, I suppose?" "No," says I, "I am not." "But," he replied, "Mrs. Cobb is, I understand and that is the same thing." "How much," says he, "is her estate." I replied about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. "Well," says he, "why don't you pay that debt of fifteen thousand, that you say you owe?" Don't you think the old Gentlemen is quite curious about such matters? I was strongly inclined to ask him to loan me the money, but we were in rather a good natured mood and I let it pass. I

am to dine to-day with Mrs. Clayton who has promised to have fritters for dinner. I expect to have a good time of it as I have been starving over the hotel fare of Willards.

PHILIP CLAYTON TO HOWELL COBB

Athens, Ga. August 7th, 1857.

Dear Howell:

In due course of mail, I reached here on Monday evening and found all your family and friends well. The political excitement in Georgia is fast passing away. Judge Thomas[1] and Jack Howard are now the only opposition men inside of the Democratic organization and they have both concluded to vote for Judge Brown for Governor. I have seen them both and conversed with them and while they talk furiously, they are doing no harm. As to Thomas, since he has been delivered by writing his last article signed "Troup," he feels much easier and he will pull in the traces very gently. I think his eyes were opened by receiving from the Know Nothings a proposition to nominate him for Congress in the 8th District. He answered them in such a way that his letter will not come before the public through them. I have seen Judge Brown and conversed with him very freely. He feels the delicacy of his position, some urging him to denounce Mr. Buchanan and others requiring him to endure Walker. He will advocate the policy as enunciated in Linton Stephen's letter and under no circumstances for causes which have transpired abondon the administration or the Democratic party. He will be elected by a very decided majority and my impression is that before the day of election there will be no evidence that there has been any difference of opinion in the Democratic party. He and Hill speak to-morrow at Barbers Spring, which has prevented my going to Greensboro until Monday.

As to the race in this district, the general impression is that Judge Jackson will be elected by a large majority,

1 Judge Thomas W. Thomas, lawyer and editor of Elberton, Ga. Judge Superior Court, 1855-1859.

though John Crawford is not of that opinion; he however, considers his election certain, though the contest will be a close one. Judge Jackson himself is absent and I shall not be able to see him.

One thing I am satisfied of, which I am glad to communicate and that is, that the excitement about Walker has not been gotten up to injure you, but is no doubt an honest spontaneous sentiment that Walker was a traitor and betraying the rights of the South. There may be some men in it who are your enemies, but I am satisfied that it was not intended to strike you and such is the opinion of most of your friends. Judge Thomas, who is the most unreasonable man among them, had no idea of injuring you in any way, besides I think personally he is your friend or he is a great hypocrite and whatever excitement has been produced, he is responsible for. Many things I can tell you better than I can write. You may I think rest satisfied the Georgia Democracy will be found right side up. . . . . .

HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR

Washington City, July 10th, 1857.

Dear Col:

The conventions in Ga. have been held and the result is not as satisfactory as I could have wished. Judge Jackson[1] was nominated after a hard struggle. A portion of the up country delegates seceded from the convention, but I don't think it will amount to anything. Baily[2] is nominated in your district, Judge Wright[3] (one of my friends) in the Cherokee and Gartrell[4] in Warner's, the two Stphens[5] in

1 Judge James Jackson, Congressman, 1857-1861.

2 David J. Bailey, Congressman from Georgia, 1851-1855; defeated for re-election in 1857.

3 Judge Augustus R. Wright, Congressman from Georgia, 1857-1859.

4 Lucius J. Gartrell, Congressman from Georgia, 1857-1861.

5 Alexander H. and his brother Linton. Alexander H. was re-elected, but Linton was defeated by Joshua Hill, the Know-Nothing candidate, by 4,800 votes to 4,525.

their districts, the 1st. and 2nd. not yet heard from. Lumpkin[1] was defeated for Governor. They fought for three days in the convention. Gardener and Lamar's friends generally combined against him. Still he got a majority, but could not get two thirds. Judge Brown of Cherokee was nominated by acclamation upon the report of the committee, after it was found impossible to nominate any of the candidates who were in the fight.

If it had stopped here, it could have been borne with, but the convention denounced Gov. Walker for his course in Kansas and demanded his removal, thus making an issue with the administration. Gov. Walker announced himself in favor of submitting the constitution to the people of Kansas for ratification and he said in his inaugural that the climate of Kansas was not suited to slave labor and for these reasons the Ga. convention demand his removal, although all *the democrats and pro-slavery men in Kansas* are satisfied with him. Upon this point they have gotten up a terrible excitement in Ga, Ala, and Miss., and the indications are that we are to have the fight of 1850 over again. The storm may blow over and I hope it will, but at present it looks angry and threatening. Our friend and kinsman Lucius Lamar, has been nominated for Congress in Miss. He will be elected beyond doubt as the democratic majority is large in his district. The prospect therefore is that I shall have some good friends in the next House. . . . .

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE

Washington City, July 11th, 1857.

My dear Wife;

At the time I wrote the letter, to which your last was an answer, I was very much out of humor with the political news from Georgia. I had made up my mind however to

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1 John H. Lumpkin. In the Democratic Convention there were five candidates for the nomination for governor. The others were James R. Gardner, Henry Lamar, Judge Hiram Warner, and William H. Stiles. No one being able to secure two-thirds of the votes, a committee was appointed to bring in a nomination. They fixed upon Judge Joseph E. Brown. Brown was subsequently elected over Benj. H. Hill, the Know-Nothing candidate, by 57,631 votes to 46,889.

meet all the issues which might arise with the same spirit and feeling which have heretofore carried me successfully through all ordeals. Now, things look much better. My letters from the state all indicate very clearly that the democrats of Georgia will stand firmly by their principles. I never have and never can lose confidence in the masses of the people. Too often have I seen the evidence of their sterling good sense ever to lose confidence in their ultimate decision. The storm that was gathering a few days ago, will pass over without seriously disturbing the peace and quiet of the country. This is the present appearance of things, but whatever may come, I shall stand firm by my principles and let consequences take care of themselves. .

ISAAC H. STURGEON TO HOWELL COBB.

St. Louis, [Mo.] May 17th, 1858.

Dear Sir:

I came in possession yesterday of the following information, viz., that Stephen A. Douglass had sent for F. P. Blair, Jr., and had an interview with him in which he stated to Blair (as Blair states in a letter to a friend in this City) that whatever construction others might put on his course between this and 1860 he wished to let him know that he intended to be with the Black Republicans in 1860 and that then he and Blair would be together.

This letter from Blair was seen under such circumstances that it cannot be referred to. Under your leave I shall be in Washington about two days about the 10th of June and will tell you all about the letter I can. I thought it due you and the president to let you know of this intended treason.

As I understand it, he intends to try to keep in contact with our party until the canvass opens for 1860, so that he can do us the more harm.

He is a black-hearted traitor and would destroy his Gov't if it would only elevate S. A. Douglass. I should prefer nothing said of this in the papers till I see you.

JAMES JACKSON TO HOWELL COBB

Athens, Ga., July 14th, 1858.

Dear Gov[ernor]:

. . . . I found the Federal Union all right. Joe Nisbet is as good a friend as the Administration has in Ga. He will do anything you want I think. I hope you paid Benton some attention in Washington. He has gone North.

I look upon the Constitutionalist as dead out against the Administration and yourself. I judge alone from its public course. It published Wright's speech, with a wishy washy comment. It then gave the Administration Democrats in Illinois, and incidentally the Administration, a side blow, and now to cap the climax it publishes anonymous communications against your slave trade letter. I am afraid Stephen's finger is in that pie. I am almost prepared to advise you to take the government patronage from it. At all events, it ought to be attacked. It is against both the State and Federal Administrations, and I would advise if it meets your approbation an attack on it in the Federal Union. I would ask, is it a Democratic paper? It is doing all it can to get up an opposition to Brown and Buchanan. I saw Brown in Milledgeville and I can tell you *he knows what is about.* It is our interest to sustain him. They may say what they please, but the Bank question and the State Road will make him popular, and he is so now.

Anyhow, the propriety of the Federal Union linking the attacks of the Constitutionalist upon him with its attacks upon the Administration at Washington, both covert but both ill-concealed, is unquestionable; *and it ought to be done.* If you think so, write a confidential letter to Nisbet, or if you prefer it, write to me and I will write to Nisbet. I think you may *trust* him. I would allude in the attack upon the Constitutionalist to his recent conversion to Democracy in a delicate way, and tell him he had better get comfortable in his new seat before he sets himself up as censor of the State and National Democratic Administrations. . . .

JOHN E. WARD TO HOWELL COBB.

Milledgeville, Ga., Nov. 1, 1858.

My dear Gov[ernor]:

Judge Jackson is here and will speak tomorrow night. I have no doubt he will make a fine impression. I have employed a stenographer to report his speech and after he has corrected it, I will have it published in the Federal Union and sent to you. I have no doubt, it will deserve a place in the Washington Union. If there are any Douglass men [in] the Legislature, they do not avow it. There is a very strong combination for mischief formed. Warner for the Senate, McDonald to go into the next Cabinet, Brown for Governor; to the last, opposition would be useless, but when elected his influence will be given to those men. Their candidate for President is Breckenridge, and a strong effort will be made to send a delegation from this state to Charleston for him. I have seen a gentleman who saw a letter from Douglass to a member of Congress from Tennessee in which he says, that "He (Douglass) had committed himself to the submission of the Kansas constitution to the people when he believed the Administration was about to destroy the South; that his impression was that Walker was retained to have an *anti-slavery* constitution framed by the Convention, and that he then took the ground from which he could not subsequently recede, that it must be submitted to the people; that he will go to the Senate ready to support all the interests of the South and will convince them that he has been ever true to their rights." I have no doubt he will take ultra Southern ground. We have now a very annoying question before the legislature, a bill introduced by Atkinson sent by McDonald and Warner to repeal the clause in the constitution forbidding the African Slave Trade with Georgia. This clause was inserted because under the constitution of the United States, Congress could not forbid it before 1808, in 1797. The framers of our constitution unwilling to wait until 1808 forbade it at once. Now that there is a law of Congress against the slave trade, this clause in our

constitution is unnecessary. This is the argument used and it is said it only serves now as a reflection upon the institution of slavery. The real object of the introducing is to make way for the passage of a law authorizing the introduction of Africans and thus bring the state in direct conflict with the General Government, but with the existing sensitiveness upon the subject of slavery, men are afraid of having it said they are opposed to slavery and thus afraid to meet the question. I send you an article from the Bainbridge *Argus* to show how the old Southern rights feeling still holds on.

JAMES JACKSON TO HOWELL COBB.

Athens, Ga., May 30th, [1859?].

Dear Gov[ernor]:

Your letter was received yesterday and I reply to-day. I shall be at the Convention but am afraid they may whip us in the fight, if it is made. If they do, we will make a record. Toombs and Stephens were here at the Supreme Court and I had a short talk with them, brought about by Stephens asking me what I was for doing at the Convention. I told him I was against putting new planks in the platform, particularly about the Slave trade, and besides desired the Administration to be sustained on your account particularly. He said he thought the Cincinnatti platform sufficient and had no objections to any resolutions sustaining the administration *if they would not hurt.* I asked him how they could be framed so as not to hurt. I told him I was not particular about language, but wanted the usual resolutions of confidence. Toombs then said the Administration ought not to be ignored, but that all its acts could not be endorsed, because we were not united; some things he approved (alluding to specific duties, I suppose) which others of us did not, but he thought a resolution expressive of confidence in the ability, integrity and patriotism of the

Administration ought to be passed.[1] Stephens said nothing more. I was to have seen him again but did not, as he left before the Court adjourned. My object in writing this to you is to suggest that you write to Toombs urging him to go to the Convention. I think he will go, if you ask it as a personal kindness, and in the event of a row, he will be of great service. I haven't a doubt his heart is with you. As to little Aleck I say nothing. I will try and have the 6th represented, and will write to Morris to go if possible. I saw Jeff Lamar and told him my interview with Toombs and Stephens. He will act cordially with us. . . . .

By the way, the *Press* at Macon has an article containing a letter from old Buck[2] to McLane as bad as the message about schooling the negroes. Let me know the truth about it. The letter, is it genuine? and what is the whole truth about the business, for it looks bad and grows worse, and we may have to fight it in the Convention. Thompson Allan's last piece which Sledge has showed me in manuscript is a good one especially the Iverson part. . . . Don't you think such a resolution as Toombs suggests all sufficient. I think so rather than make a fight.

Let me hear from you.

A. F. OWEN[3] TO HOWELL COBB.

Talbotton, Ga., June 9th, 1859.

Dear Cobb:

On my return from Upson court this morning I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 5th inst.

I am not a member of the Convention but I think it will be agreeable to some one of [the] delegates for me to serve in his place. Had it been supposed that I would like to be in the Convention, I should have been appointed. At any rate I shall go to Milledgeville and it will afford me great pleas-

1 The State Democratic Convention was held on June 15th. In spite of opposition, Buchanan's adpinistration was endorsed, though only as to its "integrity and patriotism."

2 President Buchanan.

3 Congressman from Georgia, 1849-1851.

ure to comply with your wishes as far as lies in my power. I hope the convention will not do you the injustice of pursuing the course you seem to think they may pursue.

You may rest assured that I shall always feel a pleasure in your prosperity; and [you] have few friends who would derive a higher gratification than myself in seeing you in the first position in the Republic.

T. R. R. COBB TO HOWELL COBB.

Jefferson, Ga., Aug. 24, 1859.

Dear Brother:

I am just from Crawfordville and hasten to write to you the results of my interview with Col. T[oombs.] The Despatch of the special Correspondent of the N. Y. *Herald* about your visit to Ga. gave me an easy avenue to the subject and I have confidently inquired of him, Mr. Stephens's feelings toward your nomination, saying that I had been told by several that he (Stephens) was hostile to it. His reply was, "It is a great mistake. Mr. S[tephens] and I have talked this matter over frequently, and he *agrees fully with me* that Mr. C[obb] is the best man in the nation for the office." He continued at some length in this strain and said it was not only desirable that the Delegation to Charleston should be favorable to you, but that any other would be unworthy the state or some such expression. I took pains to impress on him that you were *no candidate,* but that your friends did feel anxious, in the event your name was suggested at Charleston as the most available candidate, that no objection or obstacle should arise in the Delegation from your own state and that it was with this view alone that we felt anxious as to their appointment. He suggested to me that Delegates should not be appointed by the members of the Legislature but that it would be best for you to have a convention specially for that purpose and assured me that so far from interfering he believed Mr. S[tephens] would be in your favor. I have given you the substance of his re-

marks. I confess I am incredulous as to Stephens, but I am satisfied Toombs was candid and sincere. And I have no doubt that when you see him in Washington you can make him your zealous friend. He is openly opposed to the reopening of the Slave Trade, but thinks the law declaring it Piracy is unconstitutional and should be repealed. His views on this point are forcible.

I write to you in great haste and cannot enlarge, now. The feeling in this state upon this Slave Trade is working very favorably for you. Nine tenths of our people are opposed to it. Old friends of Stephens are open in their disapproval of his position. Ferdy Phinizy of Augusta, who was opposed to you, told me that you were the man for the nomination and that you were gaining ground every day on that question. I hear this in many quarters. . . .

HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Washington City, Nov. 19, 1859.

Dear Col:

. . . . The future of the country looks badly. I never felt less hopeful in my life. All the indications point to a fearful crisis on the slavery question. The North seems determined to force upon us the issue of submission to Sewardism or disunion. I regret to say that the conviction is now forced upon me, that the days of the Union are numbered. It is to my mind a fearful thought, but it is preferable to dishonor and degradation and ultimate ruin. It will not in my judgment be many months before the price of property in the South will begin to show the state of things to which I allude. I write this, as my unwilling convictions and [trust they will] not have any more effect upon your own mind than they are entitled to.

O. H. PRINCE[1] TO MRS. HOWELL COBB.

Connasena, Dec. 4th, 1859.

My dear Mrs. Cobb:

. . . . I am very sure that the tide is changing to

1 Son of former U. S. Senator O. H. Prince, of Athens, Ga., and a close personal friend of Cobb's.

Mr. Cobb's side. I notice one communication in the "Daily Federal Union" speaking of him as unquestionably the choice of the State and that whenever or however the State Convention may be held he will be supported. I notice also an editorial in the "Constitutionalist" in which the editor acquiesces in his nomination, he says "We are in favor of the nomination of a Southern man at Charleston and before all other Southern men a Georgian. Gov. Cobb will probably be the only Georgian before the Charleston Convention as a candidate for its nomination and if he receives that high honor, we shall not only be content, but delighted. We believe that our position in reference to Gov. Cobb, as we have just stated it, is that of nine tenths of the Democracy of the State. They are content that a delegation should be sent to Charleston favorable to his nomination, and will be delighted if he is the nominee."

My interpretation of the above is not that the paper really favors or even acquiesces in Mr. Cobb's nomination, but seeing that the tide now sets in his favor yields a reluctant assent and is shifting with the current. It is a mighty good sign and augurs better for Mr. Cobb than any symptom I have yet seen.[1]

A. HOOD TO HOWELL COBB

Cuthbert, Ga., Jany. 13, 1860.

Dear Gov [ernor]:

Have you fully considered and advised with your friends as to the proper course to pursue in the March Convention?

I am now satisfied the intention is to send a Stephens Delegation from that Convention, and from present indications it will likely be held. I am fearful in those counties where your friends have the majority—they will permit the

1 A factional fight among the Democrats occurred over the control of the delegation to the Charleston Convention of 1860. Cobb was expected to be put before the Charleston Convention as the choice of the Georgia Democracy. His faction, controlling the Democratic Executive Committee, announced a convention to be held in March, 1860. The anti-Cobb faction, acting through a Committee of the Legislature, called a convention to meet in Milledgeville on December 8, 1859. Cobb's friends got control of the December convention and delegates favoring his nomination were appointed.

minority to meet and send Delegates. If so, it will give the Convention importance it does not deserve. How is the matter to be met?

I have been appointed a Delegate to the Convention from my county, but I cannot go. Will you give me your views at length.

I am satisfied there is an entire and cordial harmony of action between Douglass and Toombs and Stephens which will if not properly met result in the nomination of either Douglass or Stephens.

Could you not by a letter make yourself stronger at the South without hurting you North? If you have time, write me.

MARK JOHNSTON[1] TO O. H. PRINCE.

Cartersville, Ga., March 28, 1860.

My dear Oliver:

I was very closely detained, at Court, all last week, received my mail very irregularly, consequently did not get your kind favor until the last of the week. On Sunday I was sent for in haste to visit a dying relative, at Cedartown and have just returned. This will account for my delay in acknowledging the receipt of your letter. By this time you have become "posted," in regard to that miserable affair at Milledgeville,[2] and I need say but little in regard to it; suffice to say, that Mr. Cobb was most shamefully hunted down by violent personal enemies and Douglas men. I have much to say to you and am very desirous of seeing you. I very much regret I could not see Col. Jackson, as I fear he has come and gone. If he is still with you, can not you and he come down and visit me, at my father's, with whom I am now compelled to remain most of the time, as my sister, who keeps house for him, is visiting her sick children. This too has prevented and will for a month probably pre-

1 A well-known educator. Delegate to the Charleston Convention of 1860.

2 The convention called by the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party (See footnote to letter of O. H. Prince, supra, p. 221) met in Milledgeville early in March. The public generally expected the convention to ratify the proceedings of the December convention, but Cobb's opponents, led by A. H. Stephens, succeeded in defeating such action, and a new delegation was appointed, of whom only 17 of the 40 were Cobb men.

vent Mrs. Johnston and me from visiting you and Mrs. Prince. We very much regret this, but you know father is quite infirm and we cannot leave him until sister returns. I want to see you and Co. Jackson very much in relation to Mr. Cobb's prospects. I think he ought to permit his name to go before the Charleston Convention, for he has a large majority of the two delegations appointed, and it is known and acknowledged by all, that he is the choice of the *Democracy* of Georgia. Should he not, however, or should he, and be defeated, I am anxious that he should run for U. S. Senator, at the approaching session. I think though his *true and reliable* friends should consult in this matter. There are so many infernal traitors, that one *knows* hardly whom to trust. I feel so indignant and so outraged at the villainous manner in which he has been treated that I want to bend all the energies of my soul to see him vindicated. Think of all this and we will talk it over when I see you. Write immediately if Col. Jackson is still with you. If you and he can't come down, I will try and run up for a few hours anyway. Col. Lamar told me to tell you, he would probably be up in April. Don't fail to advise me when he comes, for he must come to see me. My wife is with me and joins me in kind regards to you all and Col. Jackson, if he is with you.

HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Washington City, April 8, 1860.

Dear Col.:

I was much gratified to find from your letter this morning that you thought my letter to Irwin had produced a good effect. My friends write me from other quarters to the same effect.

As you ask me who I am for, I fear that you did not receive a letter of some length in which I wrote you my views on that point, and also wrote you about moving to Macon.

Though I am now writing very hastily and with company (as it is Sunday) I will repeat briefly. 1st. I think we ought to go for Hunter, as he will unite the South, and he is *my friend,* and besides if elected will make a good president. I have no objection to Jeff Davis. Our policy should be to go with the South for some [illegible] candidate, putting our faces sternly against all tied out nags. The article in the Federal Union in favor of Hunter is pretty much an extract of a letter I wrote them. If I had time I would write fully, but I am sure you will see at a glance the policy of this programme. If we cannot get Hunter or Jeff Davis, then let us go to the North for a candidate and take old Joe Lane. I don't think we ought under any circumstances to support Douglass, though it is hardly necessary to say so, as he has no earthly chance for a nomination.

JNO. H. LUMPKIN TO HOWELL COBB.

Rome, Ga., May 8th, 1860.

Dear Cobb:

You have heard of all that transpired at Charleston. I left as soon as the Rump Convention adjourned over to meet at Baltimore on the 18th. of June, and requested the States not represented to appoint delegates to meet them at that place. My advice to the withdrawing states was that inasmuch as they had [not] nominated Douglass or any other objectionable man, was that they too also make no recommendation of candidates for President and for Vice-President, but adjourn also and refer the whole question back to the Democratic party of the several withdrawing states, and let them act for themselves. In fact the Georgia delegation had instructed their Chairman Judge Benning to write and publish an address to the Democratic party of Georgia, giving them the reasons for our course, and asking that a convention of the party might be called by the Executive Committee to meet at Milledgeville on the

first of June, and if a majority of the party chose to be represented in Baltimore, either with or without ratifying our conduct that they might have the right to do so. And I left the convention under the impression that this was to be our program. But on reaching home I saw that after I left that Col. H. R. Jackson offered in the Southern Convention a resolution which was adopted, that the States opposed to Douglas and Squatter Sovereignty, be asked to send delegates to meet at Richmond on the 2nd. Monday in June. This position assumes that we are now divided and can never act together again, and if this be true, I am prepared for it, and will go with them. But I had supposed that the people would more readily have concurred in this view after the final adjournment of the Convention at Baltimore. I addressed the people of this city on Saturday night, and I was met by men of all parties, and the approval of my course was most cordial and enthusiastic, and since the meeting I have conferred with men of all parties, and with men in the town and counties, and with the exception of Judge Wright and his son-in-law, F. C. Shropshire, I have yet to see a man who was opposed to our withdrawal. Judge Wright had Mr. A. H. Stephens as his guest a few days ago, and he was openly in favor of Douglass's nomination, and he invited several of our prominent citizens to dine with Mr. Stephens, and several who were present have been charged with sympathy with him and Douglass; our friend Jas Spurlock it is said is of the number. But he was absent on my return home at Savannah, and I have not seen him. Our mutual friend, Wm. A. Fort, was charged with agreeing with Mr. Stephens, but he denies it most firmly. Col. Printup regrets that we separated from the Northern Democrats, and thinks that we ought to meet them again at Baltimore, and make another effort to stand together on a national platform.

This leaves my family in the enjoyment of health. Mrs. L. unites with me in kind regards and love to Mrs. C. and yourself.

HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Washington City, July 1, 1860.

Dear Col[onel]:

The indications are that the Douglas and Johnson men intend to fight hard for life in Georgia. Our friends should not underestimate their strength, though I think with proper effort on our part, it will not amount to much. The principal battle ground will be the 7th. and 8th. Districts. It is understood that Stephens will enter warmly into the canvass, and with the aid of the Constitutionalist will give us work to do in his section. Smythe will start his new paper at once and I have agreed to let him have five hundred dollars. Don't be alarmed at this demand, but I felt that it was too important a movement to let it pass. He said to me, that the paper could not be started without he could get a thousand dollars, and I agreed to furnish half.

The Macon *Telegraph* has put one foot in, and the question is will it take back or go on? "Bob" in the Telegraph, smoked (?) Johnson in advance, and it would be well to remind his friends that he was caught before he got the nomination.

Can you carry out your programme of going to the Legislature? I now think that we can carry the Senatorial election with a little effort, though it should not be mooted at present. Before Toombs left here he voluntarily tendered me his cordial support and promised to see exactly how the members from his dis[trict] stood. I don't wish you to trouble yourself too much about it, but your presence in the Legislature would tell powerfully upon the result.

J. M. SPURLOCK TO HOWELL COBB.

Rome, Ga., August 7, 1860.

Dear Sir:

I am gratified to see you have given us a visit to Ga., although I cannot think there is the least danger but that

we will carry Ga. easy for Breckinridge and Lane, but it is I think proper that you should mix with the people of your own State at this time. I would come to Atlanta to see you but for other engagements. I must try and see you before you leave for Washington. Please let me know when I would most likely see you; if you return by the Virginia route, by the way of Lynchburg I will meet you at Kingston. I wrote you two letters but suppose you had not received them before leaving Washington. Everything is all right in this section. I want to see you upon two points, the most important is the Senatorial Election next winter; in my judgement if your friends will act discreetly we can elect you. I fully understand the programme that is now being laid to get up a controversy between yourself and Judge Iverson. A certain individual is figuring to get up the controversy, and be the beneficiary. In my judgement you can be elected, and I am exceedingly desirous that you should be. I also want to talk with you about my private matters in the way of some compensation for these African slave cases. I think we can fall upon some plan to arrange the matter satisfactorily from what I learn from Mr. Toombs and Underwood. I am very anxious to have an interview with [you] upon politics before you leave; if you see any chance for me to meet you let me know.

HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Washington City, Sept. 27, 1860.

Dear Col[onel]:

. . . Our news from the South continues to be of the most favorable character, and I now believe we shall carry every Southern state.

I see that the Breckinridge men are inclined to kick against the fusion ticket in New York. This will never do as it will fasten upon the Breckinridge men, the charge we have made against Douglass of preventing fusion and thereby helping Lincoln. As to New York I have no hope of carrying it, but much good will be done in Pa., New Jersey

and other states by a fusion in New York. It has the effect of inspiring hope where we have a chance of success. I think we shall carry Pa. and New Jersey and thus defeat Lincoln. . . . . .

O. H. PRINCE TO MRS. HOWELL COBB.

Connasena, [Ga.,]March 31, 1860.

My dear Mrs. Cobb:

Sarah went down to the Howard's with the children on yesterday and among other items of news brought a message from Mr. Howard to me that Mr. Cobb had just written a letter declining to have his name presented to the Charleston Convention. Mr. H[oward]sent word that it is an admirable letter and I very much regret that he did not send it to me.

I write this to congratulate Mr. Cobb on his position. He is on the right track now sure and if the letter referred to is such a one as I hope and believe it is, he is stronger now, not only in Georgia but the whole South than he ever was before, and that Georgia will go for him to a unit. In fact, I believe that public opinion will force him to modify his decision, and that the delegation from this State will have to stand square up to him or misrepresent the feeling of the people and sink themselves eternally. I am no prophet or son of a prophet, but I give this my opinion for what it is worth. I only hope that Mr. C[obb] will not commit himself too fully to the determination of withdrawal, until he sees how the cat jumps at home since the publication of his letter. What I mean is this, Mr. Cobb withdraws for the sake of unity and harmony in the party and under the belief that the delegates are divided and will not support him unanimously at Charleston. Let this be ascertained beyond a doubt before he commits himself irrevocably, for I believe that the delegation will be forced to support him and that to a man, when it is ascertain that his name may be presented on those terms.

I notice the "Cassville Standard" comes out hot and heavy against the Convention and in support of Mr. Cobb. I will send the paper if I can find it before I close my letter, although I presume you will have seen it before this reaches you.

I wrote to Mr. Lamar today and told him that Mr. Cobb had high, low, Jack and the game, in his hands so far as his own state is concerned and although there is a good deal of cheating around the board there is no danger, if he will keep a sharp lookout, play a bold game and lead trumps from the start. I told him if Mr. Cobb would only allow me to arrange his programme for the next 12 months, I would make a man of him. However, you know the text, "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country," and I cannot expect to be an exception.

The following clipping from the Cassville, Ga., *Standard,* of March 29, 1860, was enclosed in the above letter:

THE LATE STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

We have carefully perused the proceedings of the late Milledgeville Convention, and must say that those proceedings are to us, not only extraordinary, but altogether incomprehensible. Will not some of our cotemporaries of the press, many of whom we noticed participated in the deliberations, (if proceedings characterized by so much heat and violence can in any proper sense be denominated *deliberations*) give us the direct history of that Convention, by which we may unravel the mystery, and understand how it was that the Hon. Howell Cobb, so clearly and justly the favorite of the Democracy of this State, after having been by the December Convention declared the choice of Georgia for the Presidency, should have been so completely and designedly overthrown; when, too, there was a reported majority of the friends of Mr. Cobb present, a fact which their ability to control the organization and elect their own officers, places beyond question? Why was it, we ask, that he was so cruelly slaughtered, and that in the house of his friends? There is but one solution of the matter at which

we can arrive. Mr. Cobb was overthrown, *thrust out,* because he stood in the way of some other aspirant for the position in our own State. So great an indignity could never have been inflicted upon one of Georgia's own sons to advance the prospects of any candidate beyond the State, as such a step would have been not only unnatural, but unnecessary. The delegates in such an event might have sustained the fortunes of Mr. Cobb so long as there was any prospects of success, and then when all hope was lost, there would have been ample opportunity to wield to a foreign favorite their support.

But the presentation of Mr. Cobb's name by the delegation from Georgia as the choice of this State for the Presidency, would have injured most seriously,—nay, destroyed—the prospects of any other aspirant from our own State, and hence it was his sacrifice was decreed. There is no other, there can be no other solution of the matter.

This fact settled, the only remaining question is, who or what other aspirants for the Presidency were there in Georgia? There is and has been but one other individual whose name has been prominently raised in Georgia in connection with that exalted station, and that is the name of the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens. Let it not be said that Mr. Stephens "was no aspirant," "did not seek," "would not accept the position." Such chaff may answer to stuff young gulls, it can deceive no sane man for a minute. Why have his friends for a year past been so zealously and actively at work? Leading politicians, plastering him with adulation in their letters, newspapers raising his name for the Presidency at their mast head, and defending through their columns every act of his public life? Why has all this been permitted to proceed, when a half dozen words from him could, at any time, have rendered all as silent as the grave? But throwing these evidences aside, what further proof do we need than the very debates, action and result of the Convention itself? Was not the question of preference between these distinguished Georgians there most distinctly raised? Did their action not result in the selection of the newly

appointed delegates from Mr. Stephen's friends, those who had either expressed their preference for him upon the floor, or who had previously published letters in his behalf?

But we have not yet reached the mystery. All this is clear—transparent as the noon-day sun. "He who runs may read." But the mystery we desire our cotemporaries to dispel is, how and why it is that Alexander Hamilton Stephens is a greater favorite with the Democracy of Georgia than Howell Cobb? Is he in the ranks of the Democracy *older or a better soldier?* Mr. Cobb has been a Democrat, true and unwavering all his life. Can that be said of Mr. Stephens? What is the date of Mr. Stephens' Democracy? How long has it been since he ceased to utter his denunciations against the party? Is he a Democrat today? Put the question to him and you will perhaps receive the answer he is said to have already given, "I am only acting with the Democratic Party." Is he a better soldier? Mr. Stephens is a man of decided ability; as a Georgian, we feel proud of him, but has he any more ability than Mr. Cobb? He has been tried but in one position, as a representative of our State in Congress; he has acquitted himself with distinguished honor, but was he in this sphere the superior of Mr. Cobb? Mr. Cobb was certainly selected before him to fill the highest position in the House. Has not Mr. Cobb been found fully equal to the various other and exalted stations to which he has been called, and in which Mr. Stephens is as yet untried? But the old Southern Rights wing of the Democracy, it is said, do not like Howell Cobb. Have they any reason to love Alexander H. Stephens more? If Mr. Cobb supported the Compromise measures of 1850, did not Mr. Stephens do the same? If Mr. Cobb was the instrument of the Southern Rights defeat in 1851, did not Mr. Stephens aid him to the full extent of his ability to achieve that triumph? Is Mr. Stephens any more of a Southern Rights man today than Howell Cobb? It will not be pretended.

We know not what may be the opinions of others, but this we say for ourselves, we are willing to consider all as

Democrats, whether they have entered the vineyard at the "second," or even not until the "eleventh hour," we are willing to give the preference to real ability and merit, come from which wing of the party it may, but other things being equal, we prefer today, and shall prefer always, the man who not only is, but ever has been a Democrat.

JOHN B. LAMAR TO JOHN A. COBB.

New York, Oct. 2, 1860.

Dear John A,

. . . . The fusion in New York came too late. The divisions among the Democrats gave the Black Republicans an impetus, that will carry them to victory. Everything depends on the Gov's election in Pa; if Foster is elected it will inspire the Democrats with hope and they may succeed in Pa. and N. J. in Novr. But Douglas and his friends are doing their best to cause a failure. It seems to me that every man at the South of any prominence, who supports Douglas, in this canvass, will call for rocks and mountains to hide him from the scorn of the people hereafter. His object (Douglas's) is transparent— it is vengeance at any cost—with the delusive hope of rallying and keeping up a party for his future uses. He may succeed in the first by the aid of Johnson, Stephens and others, but as to the latter, he will be disappointed. . . . . .

ALEX T. STEWART[1] TO MRS. HOWELL COBB.

Broadway C. Chambers, [New York.,]
October 23rd, 1860.

Dear Madam:

Enclosed please find receipt for the draft of $59 remitted in yours received by mail today.

I have just performed the duty of making a subscription in aid of the Union electoral ticket, and shall give it my in-

1 A great dry goods merchant of New York.

fluence, but I declare to you that I have no confidence that it can succeed.

As far as I am able to judge the supremacy of the Republican party in this State will be continued, not on the strength of any hostility to the section of the Union from which you come, but mainly from very grave errors in policy committed by the Democratic party, by which, the sceptre may be transferred to those who have availed of these errors wholly from the love of power.

It will be a great mistake to attribute any more than this to the action of this State in November and however painful the infliction, we must submit, as it is a constitutional exercise of the power of a majority.

If the errors I speak of had not been committed, the National men with whom I have been in the habit of acting would have continued in command of the country.

Pardon me if I disagree with you in your estimate of the danger. The calamity of disunion, not less a calamity to yourselves than to us, is not to be thought of for any such cause, and will not be tolerated by the sober second thought of either section, for if any attempt to injure the South be made, of any description, the North will instantly punish the offender and show their regard for the compromises of the Constitution and your interests safety and honor.

Sincerely hoping that the election may result in the success of a friend in whom you will have confidence, and that you will long enjoy happiness from the character of the National administration of affairs, I am very truly and with my best regards to Mr. Cobb

O. H. PRINCE TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Connasena, Ga., Oct. 26, 1860.

My dear Mr. Lamar:

Yours of the 16th. is at hand, in fact it has been received a week and I have postponed writing until I thought you would be back from Sumter. I received a letter from Charley

Lamar the other day in which he says, "If I can I will be in Milledgeville and will do anything I can for Mr. Cobb."

I sent a letter by John Addison[1] to Phil Tracy, but have not heard from him. I wished Phil to reserve me a part of his bed and hope he will do it. If you see him mention it to him or get John Addison to do it. I wrote to him about it. If Phil will not or cannot, I will probably find it hard work to get lodging. I may have to run down to Sav[annah] to bring Charley up and therefore will reach Milledgeville on the opening of the session. I will try and be in Macon by Wednesday 31st. or Thursday 1st. of Nov. The session opens you know on the 6th., and that will give me ample time, and I can go to Sav[annah] and capture Charley if you think best.

I have not been idle since my return and trust that I have been the means of aiding Mr. Cobb to some extent. I got a letter from him on yesterday written in reply to one from me requesting a contradiction to a report his opponents have put in circulation here that he has made a combination with Gov. Brown for the Senatorship. He replies that "it is utterly, wholly and maliciously *false*—such an idea was never suggested to me and if it had I should have spurned it as a personal insult, etc." I wrote to him also about Col. Rudler and will print the extract from his letter (about Rudler) in the Cartersville *Express*.

Our friend Mark Johnson, Judge Crook, Printup senator from Floyd, Goldsmith of Express, Stiles and Spurlock professedly, are active and all seem to consider his election a foregone conclusion.

Iverson's last letter has done him good, however, as he runs on the same strong Southern position with Mr. Cobb, and we must leave no stone unturned, for it may be a tighter race than we imagine. I may write you again before I leave. Hard times here—no money— no crops—no nothing and worse coming.

Sarah and children send love to Jno A and yourself.

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1 *i.e.*, John Addison Cobb, son of Howell Cobb.

HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Washington City, Oct. 31, 1860.

Dear Col[onel]:

After spending a week in New York, I have returned here with the conviction that there is a chance, and only a chance, for the defeat of Lincoln in that state. The probabilities are all now in favor of Lincoln's election, and what then?

My opinion has undergone no change. I still think that submission on the part of the South to his election is certain and inevitable ruin; hence I am for resistance even to dissolution. In fact, the true remedy is to withdraw from the Union on the 4th. of March. As the government passes into the hands of the abolitionists, we should pass out. To secede whilst the government is in the hands of our friends would be wrong and unjustifiable, but to remain after the abolitionists take possession would be present degradation and future ruin. In reference to the Senatorial election in the event of Lincoln's election, I desire to write fully and freely to you. My election would be an endorsement of my position and thereby strengthen the cause of resistance throughout the South. The fact that both the black republicans and Douglas men have waged so bitter a war-fare upon me personally would give a significancy to my election that would be felt throughout the country. On the other hand my defeat would cause all black republicanism and Douglasism to resound with shouts of joy and gladness. This is the view in its bearings upon the public mind and its effect upon the issue, which we are to encounter.

Personally, whilst it would be extremely gratifying it does not offer such temptations as would induce me to enter upon a doubtful contest. I am determined upon one point, that I would not sit in the Senate as the representative of the humiliation of Georgia, if she submits to Lincoln's election. Therefore if a majority of the Legislature are in favor of submission they ought not to elect me, for I could not represent their principles. If on the other hand the majority are in favor of my views, they ought not to elect

any man who would be willing to occupy the seat in the Senate under Lincoln's administration. They ought to elect a man who will hold and use the commission as may be best to carry out the policy of resistance, and who when he can no longer use it for that purpose will return it to the State.

Entertaining these views you will see that I want my friends in Milledgeville to use my name (if Lincoln is elected) as a candidate for Senator, only in the contingency of 1st. that the majority of the Legislature agree with my views, and 2nd. that there is a reasonable certainty of my election. If, by chance, Lincoln is defeated, it would present the matter in a somewhat different light, though even in that contingency my anxiety to be Senator is not great enough to run the hazard of a defeat. To be defeated at this time would be a terrific blow. Of the chances, my friends must exercise their best judgement and I shall be perfectly content though they may be deceived. When I speak of leaving the matter in the hands of my friends, I speak of friends generally, but the decision must be made by *yourself, Tom, Judges Henry and James Jackson.* I know that I am putting a troublesome and unpleasant duty upon you, but with the assurance that I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever you do, I hope you will not allow it to annoy you too much. . . . . .

T. R. R. COBB TO HOWELL COBB.

Athens, Ga., Nov. 5, 1860.

Dear Brother:

. . . . I shall leave for Milledgville on Saturday. I have given Deloney Barrow and Ed Lumpkin your views and position. They leave tomorrow and promise me to spend the three last days of this week in posting themselves so as to post me on my arrival. By that time we shall know the result of the election. If the opposition intend to concentrate on any candidate against you, or if I find that a respectable number of the party are opposing you, or if

I am convinced the race will be even *doubtful,* I shall not allow your name to go before the Legislature at all. I have so written to Jim and Henry Jackson so that we may act and speak in concert. I wrote to Toombs and to Thomas certainly to be in Milledgville, but have received no reply. Should Lincoln be defeated I am very anxious for your election. But in the other and more probable event, I think with you a scramble for the place would demoralize your position. . . . . .

O. H. PRINCE TO MRS. HOWELL COBB.

Connasena, Ga., Nov. 22, 1860.

My dear Mrs. Cobb:

I inadvertantly mentioned to Mr. Lamar on our return from Milledgeville that I would write to you on my return home; his feelings and opinions so thoroughly coincided with my own that he urged me to do so. I did so on the day after I got back, but my heart misgave me that I was unnecessarily troubling you and so I burned up the letter, very much to Sarah's annoyance, who desired me to send it. However, I will write you a very short one in lieu of the long one destroyed.

Nothing transpired at Milledgeville of importance about which you are not informed by the papers, and correspondents abler than me.

You are doubtless thoroughly posted regarding our State and Federal relations and I sincerely trust that Mr. Cobb is apprised of everything that he may be enabled to act in a way due to his State and himself.

There was *not one man* at Milledgeville who was not most grievously disappointed—I allude to secessionists—at Mr. Cobb's dispatch that he could not come. I never in my life heard so loud and unanimous a call for a man as there was for him at that time. Everyone felt the absolute necessity of his presence to unite conflicting elements and take the reins of leadership in his hands, for there was no one

else to do it. All is confusion even now among our friends while the submissionists are concentrating their strength and will give us a strong fight for the Convention.

Mr. Cobb has not a friend in Georgia who does not earnestly desire him to come home and canvass the State. The position of leader in Georgia, I believe throughout the South, is open to him and awaits him to come and take control. Also there is danger of the Federal and State Governments coming to issue and should they do so Mr. Cobb's position and influence might be injured at home. If Mr. Cobb would come and canvass the State we can carry it, if not, it is most doubtful. I dislike all this on Mr. Buchanan's account. I revere and venerate the man but we must look to ourselves or be sunk in infamy.

Pardon me for this letter. I have misgivings about sending it, the great weakness of my life is zeal for my friends, in plain English toadyism; but I have recently received a damper to my zeal and shall hereafter be more circumspect and not pertinaciously thrust my friendship where it is repudiated. It is altogether unnecessary for me to say I refer to none of yours. . . . . .

Sarah and the children are in robust health, and send love. We are looking forward already with fond anticipation to your long visit in the Spring.

JNO. W. FORNEY TO HOWELL COBB.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 29, [1860.]

My dear Cobb:

. . . . . The news of your defeat came upon us all like a clap of thunder from a cloudless sky. I never saw a man more affected than the President. He was aghast, and I could not explain. Rest assured however it has helped instead of hurt[ing] you. It is one of those events in a lifetime that no matter how black they may look often pave the way to great and glorious results. There is a future, and there are higher places even than the Senate. . . . .

T. ALLAN TO HOWELL COBB.

Milledgeville, Ga., Dec. 10, 1860.

Dear Sir:

I received your kind letter in due time and regretted to learn of your illness. I have carefully read the President's message, and have heard several who have read it, speak of it. Some of the most extreme speak rather harshly of it; but generally it is thought to be as liberal and generous toward the South as could be expected. I for one, can never forget the firmness and fidelity with which the noble old Roman during all his administration has sustained the rights of the South.

I apprehend that your resignation is now a foregone conclusion and that you will soon return to your native state and cast your fortunes with those of her people. With that understanding I have cooperated with my brother and Pruitt to try and have you elected a delegate to the State Convention, from Banks county. It being the most important Convention which has ever assembled in this State, it ought to be the desire of every true Georgian that we should have our ablest and best statesmen in that Convention.

Gov. Brown is out in a very important letter. It advocates secession and embraces an appeal to the poor men of the mountains well calculated to arouse them, and to fortify their minds against those appeals of demagogues which arouse the basest passions of the human heart and array the poor against the wealthy—the non-slave holder against the slave holder.

Simmons has made a split in Gwinnett, and the consequence is two tickets in the field for the Convention. It is thought that the regular ticket will prevail.

I expect to leave for Washington as soon as the session closes. I hope to see you before you leave Washington. I had a great desire to see and converse with you freely, as one of my best and long tried friends, concerning my own

future. I hope I may have that pleasure before the 4th of March.

JOHN B. LAMAR TO HOWELL COBB.

Macon, [Ga.,] Dec. 11, 1860.

Dear Gov[ernor]:

Enclosed I send check on Sav[annah] for $1675.48. I would have sent it before but the banks have been shut down close, to try and make secession unpopular, but its no go—the prairie is on fire and I believe most people have become convinced that we mean to go out of the Union.

Tom spoke here last Friday night by invitation of the minute men, and such a speech I have never heard before. It was four hours long and nobody was tired, and at the close the audience were enthusiastic. It had a great effect on the opinions of every body.

We have a call for a county meeting on Friday signed by 250 names to select candidates for delegates to the Convention.

We shall have opposition, but the impulse is with us. I shall probably be one of the candidates.

Sara his up today and very well.

When will you be here.

J. B. GUTHRIE TO PHILIP CLAYTON.

Cincinnati, O., Dec. 27, 1860.

Dear Sir:

I parted with the Gov.[1] at Atlanta, where he made a speech. He told me to give his best regards to our friends in Washington, and to tell them that Georgia would certainly be out of the Union, *high and dry,* immediately after the assembling of the Convention. And I tell you after hearing [him] speak twice to the people there is no doubt of it. I never heard anything like his speeches. He stirs up the hearts of the people in a way I never saw it done be-

1 Governor Cobb.

fore! and they show how they are affected by their cheers. My God, what a dangerous man he would be in a bad cause. I always liked him, but when I had to part with him, I found I loved him.

Before the Gov. arrived at Macon I wrote to Mr. Brown. I did not then think the secession party very largely in the majority, but it was apparent from the anxiety expressed by the people to see and hear Gov. Cobb that when he came there would be a change of sentiment.

When the Gov. concluded his Macon speech a Presbyterian minister jumped upon the stand, and taking him by the hand told him he had made a convert of him, and that from that time forward he would be a secessionist. I was standing along side and heard the remarks, the minister's name is, I think, Tolbert. There were few people in that Hall that did not wipe their eyes several times during the delivery of the Gov's speech. . . . . .

THE AUTHORSHIP OF DAVID CROCKETT'S "AUTOBIOGRAPHY."

J. D. WADE,
Adjunct Professor of English, University of Georgia.

Investigators have for a long time shown a disposition to associate Augustin Smith Clayton (1783-1839) of Georgia with the authorship of the books published under the name of David Crockett. The supposed connection between Clayton and Crockett, has, however, never been clearly understood, and very often it has been ignored. This article will recount what seem to the writer some good reasons for thinking definitely without any further vagueness, that the Georgia Judge was the Tennessee Colonel's spokeman.

As the so-called "Autobiography" of Crockett is his only important work, it is with that book and its authorship that this article is primarily concerned. The edition of this book most generally known is the one first published, so far as the present writer knows, in 1860 by G. G. Evans in Philadelphia. This is in reality three books turned into one. It is made up in the following manner: Chapters 1 to -17 from *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett, Philadelphia and Baltimore, 1834;* Chapters 18 to 22, from *An Account of Col Crockett's Tour in the North and Down East, Philadelphia and Baltimore,* 1835; Chapters 23 to 36, from *Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas, London, 1837.* Of each of these disquisitions and of the composite edition of 1860, Col. Crockett himself is insistently proclaimed as the true author, but in spite of the insistence with which the proclamation was made, people have never completely accepted it.

In Stephen F. Miller's *Bench and Bar of Georgia* (Vol. 1, p. 185.) there is published a letter from William Wirt

Clayton (A. S. Clayton's son) in which it is stated that "he (my father) wrote for Col David Crockett in his lifetime, a work entitled 'The Life of Col. David Crockett, Written by Himself'." The writer's detachment and indifference in this matter have the effect of increasing the validity of his statement.

In the work entitled *Col. Crokett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas,* "Crockett" identifies himself with the author of *Crockett's Life of Martin Van Buren.* After telling about his argument with a pro-Van Buren politician, "finding that I was better acquainted with his candidate than he was himself, for I wrote his life, he [the politician] shut his fly-trap and turned on his heel without saying a word."

But Appleton's *Cyclopedia* states in its article, "Augustin Smith Clayton," that Clayton "was reputed to be the author of a political pamphlet called 'Crockett's Life of Van Buren'." Besides this, Professor W. P. Trent in his *Southern Writers* (p. 104) notes that of this biography of Van Buren, Judge Clayton "is said to have been the real author." Professor Trent cannot recall how he came by his information but has the impression that it was from some source other than Appleton. Certain it is that great portions of the Van Buren *Life* (*The Life of Martin Van Buren,* by David Crockett. Philadelphia, 1835) are devoted to a discussion of the finer points of Georgia politics. No other state comes in for nearly so great a share of the author's attention.

The literary style of this book is clearly such as to have been out of Crockett's compass. Whenever the author becomes absorbed in an explanation of political affairs he falls into a vocabularly that Crockett could not have commanded. He uses words like "imbued," and "obvious;" and maintains his "whom's" through mazes in which only the wary would have known how to keep them from reverting into plain "who's."

At the conclusion of the Van Buren biography "Crockett" practically admits (pp. 206-8) that he did not write it. "I

wrote this," he says, "just as truly as President Andrew Jackson wrote his state-papers;" and then, by large implication, "which everybody knows, of course, he did not write at all."

In that all of this bears on the question of Crockett's authorship of one of his books, it bears on his authorship of all of them.

The marvel of Crockett's having written a book of any sort has always been widely commented upon, but it is worth pointing out here that the real author of the autobiography was a man of reading. He knows Cowper's John Gilpin, is familiar with the traditions of Shakespeare's life, talks about current philosophical concepts ("the ruling passion"), and has taken Scott greatly to heart. (The backwoodsman whom he meets on the way to Texas has his cap set on his head in a manner plainly reminiscent of Quentin Durward.) Throughout the book he shows a quality of literary feeling not to be expected of an amateur. Especially artful is his tragic use of the old ballad in the parting scene between the bee-hunter and his sweetheart.

Clayton and Crockett were political colleagues in the sessions of Congress held in the first half of the decade of 1830. The former was a person of what was considered broad culture, and the other was not, but it is necessary to remember that erudition in a man does not always interfere with his ability to enjoy the socially rough-and-ready sort of thing represented by Crockett. Indeed, with Augustus Baldwin Longstreet and Oliver Hillhouse Prince, Clayton was known as constituting the unparalleled "triumvirate of wits" of the old Georgia Bar, a body whose conception of wit was thoroughly in accord with the national one which so joyously acclaimed the "autobiography" in question.

Clayton got out of Crockett so much that pleased him that he made himself very agreeable to the Tennessee Colonel. Each man, no doubt, soon developed sentiments of high esteem for the other. In describing (p. 46) a banquet tendered him in New York, Crockett says (*An Account of Col. Crockett's Tour in the North and Down*

East) "There I met the Honorable Augustus S. Clayton of Georgia, and was right glad to see him, for *I knew I could get him to take some of the speaking off of me.* (Italics not in original.) Since Clayton sometimes spoke for Crockett it is conceivable that on occasion he wrote for him. The description of this banquet is concluded with some remarks on Clayton's ability as a speaker, more complimentary than one can fancy Clayton's having written himself. "He speaks prime, and is always ready and never goes off half-cock . . . . . He made a speech that fairly made the tumblers hop." Perhaps Clayton was ingenious enough to recognize that this laudation of his own powers was a good screen for him to hide behind. But, leaving this consideration out of the question, it would seem that any objecton to Clayton's authorship based on a hesitancy to think him vain could be met by the objector's having emphasized for him the fact that Crockett after all, since the book was to appear under his name, had some rights to express himself as to what should go into it. Probably he demanded that this praise be included and probably Clayton, being most human, did not object any too fervently.

Whoever wrote the "autobiography" thought often in terms of Georgia. He relates an incident that happened, he says, near Augusta (*Col. Crockett's Tour in the North and Down East.* p. 16). Then with only such careful changes as would diminish the impression that the author possessed any literary style, he incorporates in his narrative (*Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas.* pp. 17-19) the complete sketch, "Georgia Theatrics," taken from Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes.* This sketch first appeared in a Georgia newspaper in 1834, but did not appear in book form till 1835, and had no wide circulation before 1840. It is much more likely that in 1837 this sketch was shown to Clayton, who was a Georgian and a friend of Longstreet, than that it was known to Crockett.

EXCHANGES

In the July, 1922 issue of the *American Historical Review* is published a paper of great interest to students of American history. In Slidell and Buchanan, Mr. Louis M. Sears had made a careful study of the Slidell correspondence among the Buchanan Papers in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and shows not only that Slidell, with real political astuteness and rare devotion, was the Warwick in the elevation of Buchanan to the presidency but that he played a very vital part in shaping events in the eight years preceding the Civil War. Slidell was an ardent advocate of the annexation of Cuba, participated in administration conferences on that policy and in passages in his letters to Buchanan strongly suggests that he was the moving force behind the Ostend Manifesto. He was exceedingly contemptuous of the weakness of Pierce, which he held to blame for the failure of the negotiations for Cuba and the futility of the Manifesto. One of the most interesting phases of the paper shows the attitude of Slidell toward other leaders of his party and the influence that he had on Buchanan in his dealings with these leaders. His antagonism to Douglas led him to urge on Buchanan the policy of keeping Douglas and all his supporters out of the cabinet and since the north-west had to be represented the elevation of Cass. He thought that Cobb and Walker were dangerous men but recommended Cobb as the safer of the two. With the opening of Buchanan's administration the correspondence is of less importance since both Buchanan and Slidell were in Washington and there were few occasions for communicating in writing. Other articles in this number of the *Review* are Science at the Court of the Emperor Fredrick II, by Charles H. Haskins and the Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America by N. S. B. Gros.

As the first article in the June, 1922, number the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* published Propaganda as a Source of American History, the noteworthy address delivered by Professor F. H. Hodder at the annual dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association in St. Louis, December 27, 1921. In this adress Professor Hodder points out that while propaganda is not necessarily dishonest it is necessarily one sided and is almost certain to be strongly prejudiced and that it is perhaps worth while to review our American History for the purpose of inquiring to what extent propaganda may have been used as a source and may have become a part of it as it is written. Professor Hodder established this thesis by showing that accepted history concerning well known events and personalities of American history is based on propaganda: Columbus, John Smith, the Puritans, the American Revolution, the "great *History* by Henry Adams," the Adams family, Marcus Whitman and Oregon, and the issues growing out of slavery. But Professor Hodder finds that the organization of propaganda went further than it had ever gone before against the league and the last president. "Not only were Mr. Wilson's character and purposes misrepresented, but the larger part of the newspaper press and practically the whole of the periodical and book publishing press were closed to his defense either by formal or tacit agreement.—Doubleday, Page & Company appear to have been the only publishers willing to issue books favorable to Wilson. The only exception, so far as noted, is the publication of Creel's, *The World the War and Wilson* by Harper and Brothers." It seems clear to Professor Hodder "That there is great need of a thorough re-examination of the sources upon which our history has been based" and he ventures the prediction "that when, after the mist of controversy has lifted and the poison gas of propaganda has rolled away, the history of the last decade is written, Woodrow Wilson will rank with Washington and Lincoln as a national hero and in world history will occupy a place, not open even to them." The

Polictical Significance of the Pension Guestion by Donald L. McMurry, the second article in the June number of the *Review,* is well worth our study in the light of present day policies and politics.

Among the articles of interest for students of history in the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* July, 1922, are Gandhi and the Hunger-strike in India by W. Norman Brown, Three Southerners by Broadus Mitchell, the Election of 1876 in South Carolina by Francis B. Simkins and John G. DeBrahm by L. L. Bernard. In Three Southerners, Broadus Mitchell, of the Johns Hopkins University, shows in dramatic fashion how the South "sprang from agriculture, slavery and separatism into manufacture, wage labor and national participation" by drawing for us the portraits of three men whom he met on a recent trip through that section. The paper on John G. DeBrahm by A. J. Morrison is of interest to Georgians. DeBrahm, who was one of the German colonists who established the settlement of Bethany in Georgia in 1751, was not only a surveyor and an engineer but a writer on historical, philosophic and geographical subjects. He surveyed the frontier of Georgia and helped to make the first map of South Carolina and Georgia. He was a first rate military engineer, fortified Charleston, Savannah and other posts, and was made Surveyor General for the Southern District of North America in 1764. DeBrahm's Georgia material was printed in 1849 in forty-nine copies quarto by Mr. Wymberley Jones of Wormsloe.

The South-western Historical Quarterly, July, 1922, contains the following articles: The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas, II, by Anna Muckleroy, Some Aspects of the History of West and Northwest Texas Since 1845, by R. C. Crane, Life and Service of John Birdsall by Adele B. Looscan, the Bryan-Hayes Correspondence edited by E. W. Winkler.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, July 1922, presents the third installment of Letters from William and Mary, 1795-1799, from originals in the collection of Thomas S. Watson and When the Convicts Came, a chap-

ter from "Land Marks of Old Prince William," by Fairfax Harrison. In the latter article is discussed the Act of Parliament of 1718 by which convicts were transported to the "plantations," the criminal activity of these convicts in Virginia and the devices of Virginia in dealing with this problem, including the struggle between the Northern neck and the "tuckahoes" over the policy of encouraging them after their term of service was completed to take post in the ever widening frontier. Continued in this number of the *Magazine* are Minutes of the Council and General Court, 1622-1629, Virginia Gleanings on England, and Virginia Quit Rent Rolls, 1704.

In the *Tennessee Historical Magazine,* April, 1921, (issued June, 1922) Dr. R. S. Cotterill, of Louisville, Kentucky, writes of the Natchez Trace. "The importance to Kentucky of the Natchez Trace lay in the fact that it was the favorite way home for the boatmen returning from New Orleans and Natchez. Its value was the value of the New Orleans trade . . . . . For the more Southern countries the Natchez Trace was not only a boatman's road but an immigrant road as well. Much of the immigration into the interior of Alabama and Mississippi found its way along this road. . . . . Jefferson Davis came over it to Kentucky when he was a boy. Old Hickory led his army over it to Natchez in 1812—and led it back again. Lorenzo Dow traveled it many times from Lexington southward in his revival campaigns in the west and classified it as one of the trials of the adversary. Meriwether Lewis died on it as he was returning home from his western expedition . . . . But the glory of the Trace departed with the coming of the steamboat." Other articles in this number of the *Magazine* are Calvin Morgan McClung and His Library by George F. Mellen and the Boyhood of President Polk by Honorable A. V. Goodpasture, and the Battle of King's Mountain by Honorable Samuel C. Williams.

BOOK REVIEWS

The History of Georgia in the Eighteenth Century, As Recorded in the Reports of the Georgia Bar Association. Compiled by Orville A. Park. (Reprinted from the Annual Report of the Georgia Bar Association.) (1921.) pp. 143.

Mr. Park quotes a remark made by Chancellor Hill many years ago, calling attention "to the new literature coming into existence through the instrumentality of the bar associations of the several states," and containing "monographs on legal topics, and valuable contributions to legal history, to the discussion of public questions, and to the literature of the law." In preparing this paper for the thirty-eighth annual session of the Georgia Bar Association in 1921, Mr. Park sought to make available some of the important material bearing on the history of Georgia, found in the volumes of the annual proceedings of the association. So abundant was the material that he found it desirable to limit the paper to a definite period, and chose to confine it "to the first sixty-seven years, from the founding of the Colony to the end of the century."

The method of presentation adopted was that of selecting extracts from different monographs, papers and addresses (thirty-six in all), so combining and arranging the extracts as "to form something of a connected whole." "Of course the story is not so smoothly told by the lips of many as if one only had spoken. But under the plan adopted the identity of each writer is preserved—each tells his own story in his own way. To increase the unity of the story, the extracts are printed without quotation marks and without reference in the text to the papers from which they are taken. After each extract, however, is a reference to a table printed in an appendix, from which the author and the exact reference to the paper may be found.

The chief disadvantage of this method of compilation, considering the book as a contribution to the history of the state, is that its statements are culled from thirty-six dif-

ferent authorities, not all of which, presumably, were based on equally painstaking research, and hence not all were equally reliable as authentic history. Inasmuch as the original authors' references to their sources are not given, verification is made difficult, although it is possible through the appendix to go back to the authors quoted for such citations of authorities as they may have given. Still, it must be remembered that Mr. Park's work was originally prepared as a convention paper, and to have included all the original authors' citations would have involved a large amount of additional expense and labor in preparing the paper for publication.

For the same reason' undoubtedly, there is no index, but a table of contents lists the titles of the topics treated. This list shows that practically all the topics are questions of legal or judicial interest. This is natural, for, as the compiler states, "the Bar Association historians have been largely interested in the constitutional and legal history of the state and its military and political history are only alluded to incidentally." But the compilation is an interesting and important contribution to state history, and bears out Mr. Park's assertion "that a very fair history of Georgia has been written and recorded in the annual reports of the Georgia Bar Association, and much of the legal history of the state is better told in these reports than anywhere else."

C. S. T.

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The Georgia Historical Quarterly

Volume VII. DECEMBER, 1922 Number 4

NEW LIGHT UPON THE FOUNDING OF GEORGIA.

ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS, Ph. D.
Professor of History in the
University of Michigan.

It has long been known that the first Earl of Egmont was a leader in promoting the colonization of Georgia, and that he wrote a journal of the trustees' meetings[1] which is much more detailed than the official record. In addition, a voluminous private diary of his is now being printed as a public document of the British government. The first volume of this, which has now appeared,[2] containing about one-third of the manuscript and covering the years from 1730 to 1733, supplements greatly the knowledge previously available upon a wide variety of English affairs in the period. It reports elaborately a number of debates in Parliament which the official records have given only in the most fragmentary form; it illustrates vividly the manoeuvering of the politicians great and small; it tells many curious things of life in royal and aristocratic circles; and it shows the author to have been a high-minded courtier as well as an ardent philanthropist, a music lover, a collector of engravings, and a devoted husband and father, yet enough of a gossip withal to establish him now as a very notable diarist. More to

1 This is extant only for the years from 1738 to 1744. It was first printed privately by G. W. J. DeRenne as one of the Wormsloe Quartos: John, Earl of Egmont, *A Journal of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.* Wormsloe, 1886 (edition limited to 49 copies); and is now more generally accessible as volume five of the *Georgia Colonial Records.*

2. Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont. Diary of Viscount Percival, afterward First Earl of Egmont. Vol.* 1. 1730-1733. *Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.* London, 1920. pp. XIX, 477. price two shillings.

the present purpose, the book adds materially to the previously existing knowledge of the inception of the Georgia project and the launching of the colony. At the time the diary opens[1] the author, then bearing the title of Viscount Percival in the peerage of Ireland[2] was forty-seven years of age and in the midst of social, political and philanthropic affairs. Prompted, as he relates,[3] by a desire to be of service to the new king, George II, he had procured election from a family borough to the English House of Commons; and he had served under Oglethorpe's chairmanship on the Parliamentary committee for investigating conditions in the English prisons. Furthermore he had long been an intimate friend of Dean Berkeley[4] ho had sounght through years to establish a college in America; and he also was a member of a board of trustees who adopted the name "the Associates of the Late Dr. Bray" and continued Bray's own work in two lines, the establishment of local religious libraries and the conversion of negroes to Christianity.[5]

The first two entries in the diary concerning Georgia project are so significant as to call for quotation at some length. Under date of February 13, 1730:

> I met Mr. Oglethorp [sic] who informed that he had found a very considerable charity, even fifteen thousand pounds, which lay in trustees' hands, and was like to have been lost because the heir of the testator being one of the trustees, refused to concur with the other two in any methods for disposing of the money, in hopes, as they were seventy years old each of them, they would soon die, and he should remain only surviving trustee, and then might apply it all to his own use. That the two old men were very honest and desirous to be discharged of their burthen, and had concurred with him to get the matter lodged in a Master of Chancery's hands till new trustees should be appointed to dispose thereof in a way that should be approved of by them in conjunction with the Lord Chancellor. That the heir of the testator had opposed this, and there had been a lawsuit thereupon, which Oglethorp had carried against the heir, who appealed

1 January 8, 1730. The diary was probably begun at an earlier time, but if so the preceding portions have not been preserved.

2. He was raised to the Earldom of Egmont, also in the Peerage of Ireland, in August, 1733.

3. Diary, p. 20. The pages of the diary will not be cited where the dates of its items are given in the text of this study.

4. Cf. Benjamin Rand, *Berkeley and Percival.* Cambridge, 1914.

5. Cf. An excellent brief study. "The Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia", by Professor Verner W. Crane of Brown University, in the *American Historical Review* XXVII, 63 (October, 1821). Those who became Georgia trustees included all the trustees of the Dalone will and all of the Bray associates. Indeed the Georgia board in its own sessions handled the affairs of the Dalone and Bray legacies until May 1733, when upon discovery that this was irregular, the three administrations were separated. (*Diary,* pp. 378-382).

against the decree; but my Lord Chancellor had confirmed it, and it was a pleasure to him to have been able in one year's time to be able at law to settle this affair. That the trustees had consented to this on condition that the trust should be annexed to some trusteeship already in being, and that being informed that I was a trustee for Mr. Dalone's legacy, who left about a thousand pounds to convert negroes, he had proposed to me and my associates as proper persons to be made trustees of this new affair; that the old gentleman approved of us, and he hoped I would accept it in conjunction with himself and several of our Committee of Gaols, as Mr. Towers, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Holland, Major Selwyn, and some other gentlemen of worth, as Mr Sloper and Mr. Vernon, Commissioner of the Excise. I told him it was a great pleasure to me to hear his great industry in recovering and securing so great a charity and to be joined with gentlemen whose worth I knew so well. . . He then . . . said that he must tell me by the way, the old trustees of the fifteen thousand pounds would as yet allow but five thousand pounds to be under our management, which sum would answer the scheme; that the scheme is to procure a quantity of acres either from the Government or by gift or purchase in the West Indies, and to plant thereon a hundred miserable wretches who being let out of gaol by the last year's Act are, are now starving about the town for want of employment; that they should be settled all together by way of colony, and be subject to subordinate rulers, who should inspect their behaviour, and labour under one chief head; that in time they with their families would increase so fast as to become a security and defense of our possessions againt the French and Indians of those parts; that they should be employed in cultivating flax and hemp, which being allowed to make into yarn, would be returned to England and Ireland, and greatly promote our manufactures. All which I approved.

Next under date of April I the following:

I called on Mr. Oglethorp, who kept me three hours and more explaining his project of sending a colony of poor and industrious debtors to the West Indies. . . .Our business is to get a Patent or Charter for incorporating a number of honest and reputable persons to pursue this good work. Mr. Oglethorpe told me that the number relieved by the last year's Act out of prison for debt are ten thousand, and that three hundred are returned to take the benefit thereof from Prussia, many of whom are woolen manufactuers.

These items go far toward extinguishing all possible doubts that the Georgia project originated in Oglethorpe's mind.[1] They indicate very strongly, in fact, that the plan was framed in all essentials before he communicated it to those who were to be his fellow trustees. Oglethorpe's account to Percival implies furthermore that it was the discovery of this fund, which had been bequeathed by "one King, a haberdasher" for unspecified charitable uses which

1. As to these doubts, see James P. McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province*, pp. 60, 61.

suggested to Oglethorpe the thought of a charitable colony. The distresses of unemployment among the liberated debtor-prisoners, however, were doubtless already a matter of concern to him.

Incidentally it should be noted in connection with the passages quoted above, that the term "West Indies" was in those times often used to include the continent as well as the islands; and Oglethorpe's allusion to the protection of the English "possessions in those parts" against the French and Indians suggests an intention of a continental location from the first. Many times afterward the diary names "Carolina" as the intended location, and curiously it does not mention "Georgia" until May, 1732, the month following the signature of the charter by the king. The reason was that no name was adopted for the colony until many months after the inception of the project. Some of the chronology in the premises may be gathered from the proceedings of the Privy Council which have somewhat recently been published for this period.[1] It there appears that the first name proposed by the petitioners for themselves was "the Corporation for Establishing Charitable Colonys in America"; and the name "Georgia" does not occur until December 14, 1731.

The course of events concerning the charter itself may be traced from Percival's diary and the Acts of the Privy Council in combination. On July 30, 1730, Percival records: "we agreed on a petition to the King and Council for obtaining a grant of lands on the south-west of Carolina for settling poor persons of London, and having ordered it to be engrossed fair, we signed it, all who were present, and the other Associates were to be spoke also to sign it before delivered." This petition for a grant of land and a charter of incorporation was considered by the Privy Council on September 17, 1730, and was referred to a committee which in turn referred it, November 13, to the Board of Trade. In the report which this board promptly made, the

1. *Acts of the Privy Council of England Colonial Series. Vol. III, A. D. 1720-1745.* Hereford: Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1910. Price ten shillings. The proceedings in regard to the charter of Georgia are recorded in pages 299-305.

intending trustees found some objectionable details; and on January 12, 1731, the committee of the Privy Council referred it back to the Board of Trade along with proposed alterations, which concerned chiefly the power of appointing and removing civil and military officers in the colony. The board then consented to the vesting of this power in the trustees, and cordially recommended the incorporation of the petitioners and the grant to them of the land lying between the Savannah and "Alatamaha" rivers. The committee of the Privy Council endorsed this on November 18, and advised that the Attorney and Solicitor General be directed to prepare a draft of a charter accordingly; and on January 28 the Privy Council adopted this recommendation of its committee. When in the following June, however, the petitioners were informed of the terms of the charter as it came from the hands of the Attorney General, they were dissatisfied with its provisions concerning the terms of the councellors in office, the control of militia, and taxes on import and export trade.[1] The summer dispersion presumably prevented a meeting of of the associates until September 7, when they determined to present arguments against the objectionable features. In November Oglethorpe had hopes of procuring a satisfactory revision; but when on January 19, 1732, the Privy Council's committee on "Plantation Affairs" voted in Percival's presence to approve the draft of the Charter, not all the changes requested had been made. Percival adds to his laconic relation of this episode: "and we concerned therein acquiesced in their pleasure, though against the grain."

All that now remained, it was thought, was mere formality; and, putting vigorous pressure upon the crown officials, the trustees expected a speedy issue. But the lapse of a month without decisive action brought a crisis. Percival wrote on February 18: "Perceiving an unaccountable delay in the putting his Majesty's seal to the Carolina charter, . . .all our gentlemen concerned as trustees are much

1. *Diary* p. 198

out of humur, and some are for flinging it up." Both he and Oglethorpe now made stringent protests and inquiries in high circles, which yielded the information, February 25, that the obstruction came from the king himself on the ground that the charter did not reserve the appointment of militia officers to the crown. At a meeting hastily summoned, the petitioners resolved not to accept a revision in this regard, for fear that it would cause the colony to be burdened with expensive placemen and impede the administration of government. By much running to and fro in the next few days the influence of the chief ministers was enlisted on their side; and the king, having yielded his objection, put his fiat upon the charter on January 26, and formally signed it on April 21, 1732.[1]

The pressing problem now became that of finance. As to the bequest of King, the haberdasher, one of its trustees had long since developed doubts that the Georgia project was consonant with the testator's intentions; and apparently the Georgia trust never procured any part of that fund. On the other hand the estimate of expense had not shrunk. Percival wrote, April 23, 1732: "Captain Coram, who knew the West Indies well, had declared to me that we could not set out under 12,000 *l.* Mr. La Roche agreed we could not under 10,000*l.* I said that was too little, for every family will stand us in 100 *l.* at 20*l.* a head the bare fitting out with tools, clothes and transporting; besides which we were to maintain them in provisions a year when arrived, to build houses etc., and to erect a sort of fort, etc."[2] In default of any prospect of copious funds from private subscriptions, concerning which preliminary steps had long since been taken, the thoughts of the trustees were turning to the public treasury. They now

1. *Diary,* p. 260. The official date of the charter is June 9, but this merely marks the completion of routine procedure, the affixing of the seal. In the interim the trustees had expressed their thanks to the chief officers of state for the granting of the charter and proceeded to business as a virtually constituted body, though their first formal session was not held until July 20.

2. In the next month Lord Carteret, the veteran proprietor of the province of Carolina expressed the opinion to Percival that the first settlement should be begun with not less than a thousand persons, with resources of not less than L20,000 (Diary, p. 278).

devised a scheme of considerable adroitness. Having previously procured the approval of Walpole and the King, they caused petitions to be presented in the House of Commons, May 12, from residents of Westminster, Southwark and other localities in and about London, "complaining of the the great abuses and mischief arising from vagrants and beggars who have no settlement. It was intended by Mr. Oglethorp and the other gentlemen concerned in the new intended settlement of colonies in South Carolina to ground thereupon a motion for addressing the King to grant 10,000 *l.* to us for transporting those vagrants and beggars under the age of sixteen to South Carolina, and bind them to masters we should send over; but an unexpected opposition arose against us," which balked the plan for that year.

On May 10, 1733, the question was revived in Parliament by a petition from the Georgia trustees. After Sir Robert Walpole had announced that the king had no objection to the granting of funds in aid of the colony, Sir Joseph Jekyl, Sir John Barnard, Horace Walpole and Colonel Bladen, as well as Oglethorpe and Percival, spoke in favor of a grant. On the other side Mr. Whitworth spoke against the giving of public money, and also Mr. Winnington who said "Our views of raising wine or silk or potashes might not answer, and we should buy our experience too dear." As to Whitworth's opposition, Percival confided to his diary: "I did not wonder at it, for he told me this morning that he was against enlarging our colonies, and wished New England at the bottom of the sea." The opponents were too few to prevent the prompt appropriation of £10,000.

Meanwhile, in October, 1732, although only £2000 had been procured in subscriptions,[1] the trustees resolved to plant the settlement. This resolution was against Percival's judgment; but Oglethorpe's decision to conduct the expedition in person diminished his apprehensions.[2] The

1. These included £600 from directors of the East India Company, £300 from the directors of the Bank of England, and £300 from the trustees of the Earl of Thanet's legacy (*Diary*, p. 392).

2. *Diary*, p. 293.

chief concern of the trustees now became the selection of persons to be sent "on the charity", the granting of lands, and the framing of laws. In these premises and in Georgia affairs in general after the summer of 1733, the diary adds little to previous knowledge; for on the one hand the official journal of the trustees embodies all important data, and on the other hand Percival had his interest now distracted for many months by other matters. There are nevertheless in the diary, early and late, many more Georgia items than have here been noted; and no future research may neglect the scanning of its every page.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE MISSIONARIES AMONG THE CHEROKEES.*

LINTON McGEE COLLINS, M. A.

The Cherokee Indians derived their name from "Chera," meaning fire, according to Adair, which was their reputed lower heaven.[1] According to the Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, their tribal name is a corruption of Tsalagi, or Tsaragi, the name by which they commonly called themselves, and which may be derived from the Choctaw "Chilukke," meaning "cave people," in allusion to their numerous caves in their mountainous country. They were a branch of the Iroquois Indians.

At one time the Cherokee Nation was the largest single tribe of Indians in America. Their territory in the sixteenth century, when first known, consisted of all the southern part of the Appalachian Mountains, embracing the Ohio River on the North, extending South to the headwaters of the Savannah and Broad Rivers in Georgia and South Carolina, and as far west as the Tennessee (or Cherokee) River and its tributary streams, from their sources down to the vicinity of Muscle Shoals.[2]

The natives made two divisions of their country—"Ayrate," low and "Ottare" Mountainous.[3] The former was on the headwaters of the Savannah River; the latter on the eastern-most rivers of the great Mississippi. Their towns were always close to a river or creek. The language had three principal dialects: Elati, or lower; middle and Atali, mountain or upper.

On the west side of the Savannah River, the Cherokees were confronted on the south by the Creeks, the division

* Presented at the Eighty-Third Annual Meeting of the Georgia Historical Society, April 12, 1922.

1. Account of the Cherokee Nation—Adair.
2. Antiquities of Southern Indians-C. C. Jones; The Cherokee Nation of Indians— C. C. Royce,—(Bureau of Ethnology, Report Tr. 1887).
3. Acount of the Cherokee Nation.—Adair.

line being Broad River and generally along 34 degrees north; west by the Muskogee tribe and east by the Catawabas.[1]

Traditional, linguistic and archeologic evidence showed that the Cherokees were originally from the North, but they were found in full possession of the Blue Ridge Mountains as early as 1540, when first encountered by DeSoto in his march through Georgia to the Mississippi River. He engaged in several combats with them, seeking and digging metal, especially gold, in their country. But it was not until one hundred and fifty years later, that any relations with the colonists were begun. Royce said that traders from Virginia moved among them as early as 1540.

About that time there were eight thousand within the nation. In 1715 they were estimated in number about eleven thousand, two hundred and ten, including four thousand warriors, and living in thirty villages.[2] In 1729 they were computed to number twenty thousand, distributed in sixty four towns, and affording at least six thousand warriors.[3] Adair said that in 1735 they were a "very numerous and potent nation, with at least sixty four towns and villages, populous and full of women."

In 1739 they are said to have received a "most depopulating shock by the small-pox" and rum, which according to Adair, reduced them one half after a years time. The weight of authority is that they lost one thousand warriors. This decrease was steady until after the Revolutionary War, for they lost heavily in the encounters with the whites.

In 1810 the state of Georgia was composed of thirty nine counties, with a population of approximately 225,000. The Cherokees occupied 16,815 square miles, their territory being one hundred and sixty miles and ninety-nine and one half miles broad. The Creeks at that time occupied fourteen thousand nine hundred and eighty one square miles, which was one hundred and forty two miles long, by one

1. Antiquities of Southern Indians—C. C. Jones.
2. The Cherokee Nation of Indians—Royce.
3. History of Georgia—Stevens. Vol. I, p49.

hundred five and a half broad. Therefore, the area of Georgia that was laid out by white people, was fifteen thousand one hundred and thirty four square miles, one hundred and fifty miles long by thirty miles across. This was less than one fourth of the whole. By 1825, through various cessions, the Cherokees had ceded a good portion to the state, but still owned 9,537,920 acres of land in northwest Georgia. There were at that time about nine thousand Cherokees within the nation.[1] By the time of removal, there were sixteen thousand five hundred and forty two.[2]

The treaty relations between the Cherokees and the colonists began as early as 1721, when jealousy of French territorial encroachments persuaded Governor Nicholson of South Carolina to invite the Cherokees to a congress with a view to conclusion of peace and restoration of the trade relations. At that time an agent was appointed to superintend the affairs.[3]

The first intercourse with the English had been as early as 1623 when the English in Virginia massacred a number of Cherokees, and in 1666, when the Virginians first came in contact with them. In 1693, twenty chiefs of the nation went to Charleston to secure the aid of the Carolinians against the Etaws and the Congarees.[4] In 1712 they furnished two hundred warriors to South Carolina in her attack upon the Tuscaroras.

In 1729 Carolina was divided into two states: North and South Carolina. It was deemed necessary to secure the alliance of the Cherokees. Sir Alexander Cumming was sent over by Great Britian in 1730 to negotiate the treaty which was made with both states on April 3 of the same year. The Indians acknowledged themselves dutiful subjects of King George II, and at Sir Alexander Cummings' request, six or seven warriors went to England to do homage to the king. They were received in court and on June 30, 1730, a treaty was signed at Dover, whereby

1. Georgia Baptist Compendium.-(Compiled by The Christian Index -1881)
2. Report of Bureau of Ethnology. Preface, p. IX.
3. The Cherokee Nation of Indiana.—Royce.
4. History of Georgia-Stevens.—Vol. I. p. 48.

the Cherokees submitted to the sovereignty of the King and his successors agreed to trade only with English and to permit only English to live among them.[1]

Soon after Georgia was established, Oglethorpe, laid out the town of Augusta on the Savannah River as a trade center and gateway to the Cherokee Nation. Augusta was also headquarters for furnishing the English among the Cherokees with ammunition to prevent the French from secured their aid.[2] There was also a road built from Savannah to the Cherokee Nation, through Augusta. Large numbers of the Cherokees came annually to Augusta to trade with the Georgians and Carolinians for powder and lead, and more especially for rum.[3] The majorty of the Cherokees still went to Pensacola, Florida, which was a large Spanish trading center.[4]

Occasional strife between the colonists and the Indians occurred, but the greatest trouble of the colonists lay in their efforts to keep out the influence of the French. As early as 1736, the French had sent a German named Christian Priber, among the Cherokees to secure their aid a-against the English and to organize their government on a civilized basis. This mission failed, but after a number of attempts, in 1759 the French finally secured their sympathy in a war against Great Britain. They moved against the English in South Carolina in 1759, but Governor Littleton defeated them and forced them to sign a peace treaty in 1760, agreeing to kill all resident Fenchmen.[5]

The Cherokees fought on the side of the English during the French and Indian wars from 1711 til 1716.[6] Meanwhile the French became formidable competitors for the Indian trade. Through their trading posts in New Orleans and Mobile they continually took advantage of the Cherokees. Ther efforts amounted to very little until 1759 when,

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1. American Colonial Tracts, No. 3.
2. History of Georgia—Stevens, Vol. I p. 49.
4. Colonial Records of Georgia, Vol. IV. p. 666.
3. Stevens' History of Georgia.—Vol. I. p. 137, 139.
5. Royce—Cherokee Nation of Indians, (Bureau of Ethnology, Report V. 1887)
6. Bassett J. P. Short History of United States, p. 130.

after the capture of Fort Duquesne a number of the Cherokees deserted, and, by their misconduct in Virginia and the slaying of twenty-two whites in North Carolina, a number of their warriors were killed. The Cherokees retaliated but were repressed for a short time by Gov. Littleton of South Carolina, who held a large number of their envoys as hostages.

After this the war became general. In 1760 and in the first half of 1761, the tribe gave much trouble around Charleston. In June 1761, Colonel Grant, with an army of twenty-six hundred, composed of regulars and of the South Carolina militia, won a decisive victory.[1]

During the Revolutionary War the Cherokees were friendly to and aided the English, and continued the struggle almost without interval until 1794. Up until that time there had been no serious disturbance with any of the Indians in Georgia. In the first part of the war, an expedition under Colonel John Twiggs, John Jones and Captain Masbury had been sent out, which was victorious. Earlier in the war, the Cherokees had given trouble in North Carolina, along the Watauga Valley, but had been conquered. Virginia, South Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee had all suffered from the Indian attacks. The Tories, who were fugitives, had taken up their residence among the Cherokees and were continually stirring up strife. The Spanish under Alexander McGilliray, were trying to extend their influence. All these, with various other reasons, caused the prolongation of the Indian troubles. In 1793, Sevier, with a band of East Tennesseans, and in 1794, Robertson, with a party of West Tennesseans, overcame the offending Cherokees, burning their villages and killing without mercy. From that time the Cherokees were peaceful.[2]

Among the last treaties made under the Continental Congress was that of July 1871, between the Cherokees and Virginia and North Carolina.[2] At that time. Major

1. Bassett-History of the United States, p. 265
2. Personal Papers, Nathaniel Green, Mss. Library of Congress. This treaty of 1871 is not mentioned in list of treaties published in the American State Papers-(Indian Affairs)

Nathaniel Green was in command of the Southern Department. The Cherokees had been continuing hostilities with the whites in these states for some time, but after interference by Major General Green, had sued for peace.

The following men were appointed from Virginia as delegates: William Christian, William Preston, Arthur Campbell and Joseph Martin, Robert Severe, John Severe, Evan Shelby, Joseph Williams were from North Carolina. These men were to meet the Indians "for the purpose of treating on the adjustments of the respective limits of each party; and exchange of presents; a suspension of hostilities; conclusion of a peace; and one thing else, for the establishment of harmony and understanding between the contending parties as might seem proper."[1]

Five hundred Indians came to an island in Holston River in June, but because of an insufficient number of commissioners from the United States, the meeting was postponed until July 26. On that date the parties began their negotiations with the usual formalities: smoking, shaking hands, and exchange of gifts.

The Cherokees were assured by Colonel Christian that the treaty was for all thirteen states, Georgia, South Carolina, and others, and that if they "raise a hatchet against one, raise against all" for "we are one people linked together." Colonel Severe told them, "it is want of acquaintance that we have disliked you."

Much was said concerning the exchange of prisoners that were being held. It was later agreed that they would return all whites held in thirty-six days. It was here too, that for the first time, the question of establishing schools in the Indian territory, for the benefit of the Cherokee boys, was discussed. One Tassell, the leader of the Cherokees, laid before the commissioners the Indian claims to the land they were then "standing on". According to the treaty drafted at the same place, 1777, their claim was justified, and the United States commissioners admitted their owner-

1. Georgia and State Rights—Phillips; Cherokee Nation of Indians—Royce.

ship and promised to "protect and save it" for them. After that permanent boundaries were fixed.

There were a number of English living among the Cherokees who advised war with the colonies, because they were people "possessed of evil spirits." Tassell and Clanuseh denounced this, admitting their surprise and telling the whites that their country was forever open to them, asked an ideminity from North Carolina for their former encroachments.

Upon the conclusion of the conference, the Cherokees were unable to agree to the treaty, because of lack of funds. The Governor of Virginia appropriated 200,000 pounds of Virginia money for an agent, the expense of making the treaties, and for ammunition, powder and lead, which was to be donated to the Cherokees for their winter hunt. After this there were no treaty relations with Virginia until January 7, 1806, when Long, or Great Island, in Holston River, was ceded to the whites. This was the last of the Cherokee land in the state of Virginia. There were, however, a number of treaties between the United States and the Cherokees, in which there were cessions made.

At the close of the Revolution, the Cherokees ceded to Georgia, May 31, 1783, land between the Oconee and Tugalo Rivers.[7] This was the last treaty under the Articles of Confederation. North Georgia was being rapidly developed and settled, and new lands were in demand. Frequent conventions were held by commissioners of the United States, and the Cherokee chieftains, at some of which representatives of Georgia were present. But the tribe held fast to its land. In 1785, by the Treaty of Hopewell, the Cherokee Nation placed itself under the protection of the United States, and after that all treaties were made with the Federal Government, each time a specified boundary being fixed, and the United States solemnly guaranteeing to the Cherokees all their land not therein ceded.[1]

After 1795 no considerable portion of the Cherokee Nation was at any time seriously inclined to war. They be-

1. Indian Affairs, American State Papers, Vol. II.

gan to take up various pursuits and industrial careers. The old nomadic life was given up for agriculture by many, the forests were cleared and the lands were cultivated.

The Cherokee land was, according to Worcester,[1] the best cotton land, and after the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, the price of cotton went up, and consequently became the main crop of the Cherokees. In fact though, the Creek lands were better adapted to cotton, with the then prevailing system of agriculture. When the Creek lands had been secured for settlement, the state authorities began to make strenuous efforts toward expelling the Cherokees. Thereafter, during the intervening years, until their removal, moderate steps were taken.

As will be shown, they became the most enlightened tribe of Indians in America. This was due to the efforts of the missionaries, who established vocational schools among them, and to the whites, especially the Tories, who had taken up their residence among the natives.

The Cherokees established a constitution and form of government, the leading features of which they borrowed from the United States. They divided their government into three separate departments, legislative, judicial and executive. They adopted a code of laws, both civil and criminal, and directed eight district courts, with circuit judges, to expound and apply them. They had a Superior Court which met annually in their capital, New Echota, to which decisions might be appealed. Their legislative branch of government consisted of two houses, the National Committee or upper house, with thirteen members, and the National Council, the representative body of the people, with thirty-two members, besides the speaker. The executive power was vested in two principal chiefs, who held office during good behavior.[2]

One of the greatest steps toward civilization came in 1825, when Sequoyah, George Guess, an illiterate half

1. Letters are in possession of Miss Alice Robertson, Member of Congress from Oklahoma, who is a granddaughter of Worcester.

2. Compiled from the laws and the constitution as printed in the Cherokee Phoenix, their national organ, 1828-1834.

breed, invented the Cherokee alphabet of eighty-six syllables. He had heard of the "whites talking leaf" on which they could put down a "talk" and "it would stay there." He first attempted it by writing with a flat stone, making a mark for every word. Soon he had several thousand marks for every word he knew. This necessitated his dividing the words into parts, whereby one character would answer for a part of many words. Then, assisted by an English spelling book he knew nothing of, he adapted the alphabet to his use, by making figures that could be easily written.[1]

As early as 1803, President Thomas Jefferson gave to the question of emigration its first official impulse.[2] But it was not until 1808 that any actions was taken by the Cherokees. In that year a number of the tribe visited the western land at the suggestion of Return J. Meigs, agent for Indian Affairs. They were favorable to removal, but action was postponed. They sent two delegations to Washington in that year, one from the upper towns, which asked for a permanent allotment of their proportion of the lands that they might settle down in perpetuity, and follow a civilized life. The delegation from the lower towns, which represented only one-third of the nation, asked for an exchange, that they might go west of the Mississippi, where they could indulge in their hereditary passion for the wigwam and chase. According to Meigs, there were two thousand willing to go, but the governor was then unable to finance their removal. Again in 1811 an attempt was made which failed. Meanwhile small families, or groups of individuals, continued to emigrate westward.

According to Royce the very first actual emigration took place in 1815, soon after the Treaty of Hopewell. A number of dissatisfied Cherokees descended the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers in pirogues, reached and ascended the St. Francis in Louisiana, then possessed by Spain, where settlement was formed. In a few years these moved to a more satisfactory location on White River. There a

1. Report on the Indian Tribes-Pacific R. R. Documents.
2. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 3; article by Lewis Spence. Myths of the Cherokees-Money.

colony was founded and they were joined by other dissatisfied eastern brethren, until by 1817 there were between two and three thousand. In 1822, three Cherokee chiefs were in Mexico, seeking a contract with the Governor for lands in Texas. They were Boles, Fuldo, and Nicolet. Later a number moved into that state.

Let us now turn to the religious life of the Cherokees, the activities of the missionaries, and their influence toward emigration.

THE RELIGION OF THE CHEROKEES.

The original religion of the Cherokees was a polytheistic zoolatry, or animal worship. The first religious beliefs that we can discover, show that they recognized neither a paradise nor a place of punishment, neither a Supreme Being nor a Spirit of Evil. Whipple said, "the Cherokees know nothing of the Evil One and his domain, except what they have learned from the white man."[1]

All of their gods, neither good or evil, dwelt in Galulati, or the upper world above the sky. The Cherokee tribe consisted of seven clans: Wolf, which was the largest and most important; Deer; Bird; Paint; Ani-Sahami; Ani-Ga-Tagawi and Ani-Ga-Lahi. These tribes were frequently mentioned in the ritual prayers. There were with the early Cherokees four types of gods; viz; animal gods; elemental gods, such as the sun, water, fire, winds, clouds and frost; inanimate gods, stones and flint; and anthropomorphic gods, thunder, in person of "Red Man" and "Red Woman." This was a type of higher pantheism, though the animal gods were of more importance. The Cherokees connected the four points of the compass with colors and superstitions.[2]

To the Cherokees, as with the Egyptians, religion entered into every phase of life. They had a complete priestly system at one time, known as Shamans. These were highly jealous of the white physicians. The heart of the whole ancient belief centered about the medico-religious methods

1. Manuscript in the De Renne Library-Savannah, Georgia.
2. History of the Missions of the Moravian Church-J. T. Hamilton.

of these Shamans, such as bathing, bleeding, rubbing and blowing.

Though a great many of the original beliefs of the Cherokees were retained, the first effect of the missionaries upon them was the evolution of their faith into that of Christianity by gradually merging the two. This was done through their efforts to decentralize their religious power, which was in the form of socio-religious organizations. These had an initiation and ritualistic exercises which were said to resemble present free-masonry. The Priest, or Shaman, was at the head of these organizations. McGowan states that from the most remote times one family was set aside for the priestly office. The family of Nicotani was the first known to the whites. They were massacred when the missionaries pointed out to some of the Indians how they were abusing their office.

A large number of the Cherokees always clung to their original beliefs, however; Christianity spread over the nation and through its effects and the efforts of the missionaries, in the space of twenty years they were the most enlightened tribe of Indians in America.

Elias Boudinot, who was one of the earliest converts and advocates, said in Savannah at the First Presbyterian Church, on May 26, 1826, the following in regard to the religion of the Cherokees:

"The Cherokees have had no established religion of their own and perhaps to this circumstance we may attribute in part the facilities with which missionaries have pursued their ends. They cannot be called idolaters, for they never worshiped images. They believed in a Supreme Being, the Creator of all, the God of the white, the red and the black man. They also believed in the existence of an evil spirit who resided, as they thought, in the setting sun, the future place of all who in their life time had done iniquitously. Their prayers were addressed alone to the Supreme Being and which if written would fill a large volume, and display much sincerity, beauty and sublimity. When the ancient customs of the Cherokees were in full force, no warrior

thought himself secure unless he had addressed his guardian angel; no hunter could hope for success unless before the rising sun he had asked the assistance of his god and on his return at eve, he had offered his sacrifices to him."[1]

Early in colonial history we have record of the beginning of missionary effort on the part of some individuals. As aforesaid, Christian Priber, who was probably a Jesuit, did the first mission work among them as early as 1736.

The Moravians, as a sect, were the first to undertake mission mork among them. Sprangeberg secured grants of land from the trustees of the colony of Georgia in England, for the sole object of commencing missions among the Creeks and Cherokees. A group of them reached Savannah on Feb. 6, 1735.[2]

In 1740 John Hagen visited among the tribes, and again in the sixties, Ettwein attempted to negotiate with the head chiefs at Bethabara. Both of these missions failed and it was probably because of the very unsettled state of the country. Nothing else was attempted until soon after the Revolutionary War. Martin Schneider visited the Cherokees on the Tennessee River in 1783, but his mission also failed because of the ill will toward the colonists.

In 1799 and 1800 journeys of exploration were undertaken with encouraging results by Abraham Steiner and Frederick Christian Von Schweinitz, of Salem. With the aid of Captain Butler, of the United States Army, a great council of from three thousand to four thousand Indians was gathered at Tellico Blockhouse on Sept. 23, 1800, and they were able to arrange for a mission through the influence of James Vann and Charles Hicks, two Cherokee chiefs. This was permanently established in April during the year of 1801, by Steiner and Gottlieb Byham at Spring Place, which is now the county seat of Murray County Georgia.

Many obstacles were presented, especially the intricacies of the Cherokee language and the lack of an intepre-

1. The History of the Missions of the Moravian Church—Hamilton. American Board of Foreign Missions (pamphlet)
2. The Christian Index, Vol. 4.

ter, and the mission progressed slowly. However the Indian Council decided in 1803 to make the school permanent. In 1804 there were six scholars. John Wohlfarth succeeded Steiner and he was succeeded in 1805 by Rev. and Mrs. John Gambold. The first Cherokee conversion was in 1810, Margaret Vann, daughter of James Vann, being baptized with an impressive ceremony. The next was Charles Hicks who afterwards became a leader. Abe de Serra, in an account of his tours to the United States, said of this mission: "I saw there the sons of the Cherokee Regulus learning their lessons and reading their New Testament in the morning and drawing and painting and assisting Mrs. Gambold in her household work, or Mr. Gambold in planting corn.[1]

As early as 1799, Rev. Gideon Blackburn of Tennessee, first introduced the subject of schools among the Cherokees to the Union Presbytery. In 1803 he introduced the idea to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. This body appropriated $200 and at his request appointed him as a missionary to the Cherokees for a peroid of only two months. A collection was further taken, amounting to $430.

Colonel Meigs, the Indian agent, assisted in gathering the natives together for a great council meeting to gain their assent. More than two thousand met at a place selected near the Hiwassee River. In 1804, the next year, the school was opened at Maryville, Tenn., with twenty-one pupils. This was the first school among the Cherokees. In 1807 there were forty-five or fifty scholars, and the interest and desire for an education among the Cherokees had grown, until they plead for another one to be established in the lower nation,which opened with twenty to thirty scholars. Mr. Blackburn opened this upon his own responsibility, but private aid continually came in. After getting his school started, he gathered Indians and whites together for a treaty of friendship and cooperation.[2] Mr. Blackburn's

1. History of the Missions of the Moravian Church-Hamilton.
2. History of the American Board of Foreign Missions.

school broken up in consequence of the war of 1812 and his failing health. But some four or five hundred Cherokees were able to read the English Bible and there were over six hundred in circulation.

In 1816, Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury visited the Cherokee country under a temporary commission from the Cherokee Missionary Society. He passed through Washington, D. C. and had an interview with Colonel Meigs, the chief of one of the clans and two native Cherokees. They told him that they had long desired the establishment of schools and had even thought of "devoting a part of their annuity to the object, but in consequence of some embarrassment had felt themselves unable."

Upon the success of Mr. Blackburn, Mr. Kingsbury asked the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions if they would support them. President Madison through the Secretary of War, advised him: "In the first instant the agent for Indian affairs will be directed to erect a comfortable school house and another for the teacher and such as may board with him, in such part of the nation as will be selected for that purpose. He will also be directed to furnish two plows, six hoes, and as many axes, for the purpose of introducing the art of cultivation among the pupils. If there are any female students, also a female teacher to teach them to spin, weave, sew; a loom, a half dozen spinning wheels, and as many cards."

In October, 1816, Mr. Kingsbury put the object of his mission before the General Council of the Chiefs of the Cherokees and Creeks. After consultation a chief said "You have appeared in our full Council. We have listened to what you have said and understand it. We are glad to see you. We wish to have the school established and hope it will be of great advantage to the nation."

Another chief was appointed to assist in selecting a site. A farm was bought on Chickamauga Creek. The mission was called Brainerd. Rev. Kingsbury arrived January 13, 1817. The school was a compound of missions, boarding school, and agriculture college. By June there were twenty-

six natives and the mission was rapidly advancing. The Indians were showing much interest. Upon the failure of the government contractor to build the houses agreed upon the missionary and several of the Indians engaged in makinf twenty thousand bricks, burning lime, digging cellars, besides the hardship of bringing their meals for forty miles. L. S. Williams and Moody Hall joined the mission on March 7th. Hall managed the school and Williams the business departmentt. Mr. Kingsbury preached regularly to an audience of about one hundred and there was a Sunday School attracting large crowds.

As early as 1801, some of the local Baptist associations in Georgia were advocating a mission among the Cherokees, and for a number of years occasionally a preacher would have a chance to speak to them through an interpreter. In 1816, the Sarepta Baptist Association sent missionaries among them and supported schools.[1] In 1817, the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions established a school and mission in western North Carolina, just over the border from Georgia, at Valleys Town. Rev. Humphrey Posey was in charge. The Baptist school grew very fast, and in a brief time three branches were established. These were Tinsawattee and Coosawattee in Georgia, and one Nottle, in North Carolina. There were a number of native preachers at each mission.[2]

In 1818 the Moravians established another station at Oochgelogy, in Gordon County, Georgia. By that year eight natives had gone to Cornwall, Conn., for advanced education. Among these were John Ridge, who had begun education at Spring Place. He later went to Princeton University.[3]

On May 27, 1819, President Monroe, after the treaty with the Cherokees, visited the mission at Brainerd. He was so impressed with the work and improvements among the Cherokees that he gave orders for a much better building for the girls school, at the public expense.

1. Cherokee Phoenix—May 8, 1830, May 28, 1828.
2. Cherokee Phoenix-May 8, 1830.
3. Christian Index, Vol. 4.

It was also this year that John Arch, who had been one of the vilest asd meanest of the Cherokees, was admitted at Brainerd, after walking one hundred and fifty miles. There was a hesitancy about accepting him, but through his importunity, he was finally admitted. Later he performed a great work among his own people. During 1819 the system of local schools was commenced. In 1820 there were several new missions opened under the American Board, and again in 1823 the Board had six missions among the Cherokees three of which were in Georgia. They were Carmel, Hightower, and Haweis. By 1828 the Board had eighteen schools, according to Elias Boudinot. There were a number of cases of missionaries marrying the converts, who would change, or rather take, a Christian name upon baptism. There was a great desire evidenced on the part of the Cherokees to take advantage of every opportunity given them.[1]

The mission work conducted by the Methodists is quite differentiated from that of the other denominations. It was under the direction of the Conference of Tennessee, Rev. William M. Mahan being superintendent. They had four stations, located at the following places: Creek Path, Chattooga Court House, Pinelog, and Oochgelogy. There was a school at each, and in 1828 there were one hundred scholars. None of these stations was permanently fixed, but subject to be continued or discontinued as expedient. The Methodists did not seek church members, but "Members of Society," that is, those desiring to learn. The schools were itinerating and the missionaries on their rounds embraced every family in the neighborhood, and yet they did not want to stay long enough for the Cherokees to establish a national identity with the whites. There were three large circuits, Ross's Postoffice, Riley's House, and Grand River, embracing sixty preaching places. In two of these circuits the gospel was preached in English, at the others in Cherokee. The superintendents were Rev. James I. Trot,

1. Removal of the Cherokees.—Wilson Lumpkin, Vol. 1 p. 54; The Cherokee Nation of Indians—Royce.

Rev. Greenbury Garrett and Turtles Fields. In 1830 they had over eight hundred "Members of Society," or "Seekers," as they were called.[1]

The United Brethren also had a few missionaries among the Cherokees, but they never accomplished much. John Ross gave them credit for only fifty four members in 1830.[2]

Meanwhile the Baptist Mission at Valleys Town had been growing. Rev. and Mrs Evan Jones had succeeded Mr. Posey as superintendents. The school had scholars ranging from five to eight years of age. The mission and school at Hickory Log was under Rev. Dr. Duncan O'Bryant assisted by a number of natives.[3]

Thus we see that the missionaries did a great work in civilizing these tribes. To them belong the credit of the Cherokee enlightment which brought them forward as the most advanced and skilled of all American Indians. As has been shown the greatest help that came to them was the invention of the Cherokee alphabet by Sequoyah, or George Guess, in 1825. David Brown, a native, who was one of the best scholars of the nation, a graduate of Cornwall, translated the New Testament and it was soon circulated in manuscript. In 1827, the Supreme Council of the Cherokees requested the Provincial Committee to secure for them a font of type, a press and furniture which was to be paid for out of the Cherokee treasury. On Feb. 21, 1828, the first edition of the Cherokee Phoenix was published.

With the itinerant policy adopted by the majority of the missionaries, and especially by the natives going from place to place, teaching twice a week, it was less than two years before half of the whole nation could read and write their own language. By 1830 more than one thousand Gospels of Matthew were printed, and eight hundred copies of

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1. (Passed October 27, 1827 at New Town: Resolved that any person or persons who shall choose to emigrate to Arkansas and sell this property, improvements or anything shall forfeit $150.00 and the buyer shall also forfeit and pay $150.00—The Cherokee Phoenix, April 3, 1828). After the revision of their constitution in 1828, they made the selling of property, or planning of emigration westward a capital offense.

2. Georgia Journal, Jan. 30, 1827.

3. The Cherokee Nation of Indiana—Royce.

Cherokee hymns. There were at that time, according to Worcester, two hundred and nineteen members of the Presbyterian churches, one hundred and sixty seven of these being natives. There were ninety Baptists and forty-five members of the Moravian churches. The Methodist Society claimed eight hundred and fifty "seekers" who were not regenerate. By 1833 more than twelve hundred students had been received in the schools, the great majority of whom were Cherokees. (about ninety percent.) About five hundred of these had been qualified for common business. Printing was in large demand. More than fourteen thousand copies of the Testament and Pslams had been distributed.[1]

As early as 1820 the Council adopted the compulsory education law, that if the child withdrew from school before it had received an education, "That would make it useful, then the parent who had taken him out prematurely would have to pay the expense of support while there." The chiefs of the nation required the most suitable pupils to serve an apprenticeship at the most useful mechanic arts. In 1828 the Cherokees decided that the annuity from the government was not adequate, and they appropriated money from their own treasury, and secured native teachers for the new schools that they had established within the nation.

THE RELATION OF THE CHEROKEES TO THE GOVERNMENT OF GEORGIA.

By the Treaty or "Compact of 1802," Georgia ceded to the United States all her rights and titles to the territory westward of a certain line, the lands which now comprise the states of Mississippi and Alabama, for $1,250,000, so that she might meet the demands of those who lost in the Yazoo Fraud. At the same time, April 24, 1802, the United States assumed the obligation of extinguishing for the use of Georgia, as soon as it could be obtained "peace-

1. Cherokee Phoenix—April 30, 1831; Digest of Georgia Laws—Prince.

fully and on reasonable terms," the Indian title to all lands then occupied by the Indians within the present limits of Georgia.[1]

By 1821 the Creeks had ceded 14,748,690 acres, and the Cherokees had ceded only 995,410 acres. In 1823, fifty thousand dollars were appropriated by Congress for further treaties with the Cherokees, upon the charge of bad faith from Georgia to the United States. Duncan G. Campbell and Major James Meriwether were appointed as a committee to make a treaty. October 4, 1823 they met the Cherokees in Council at New Town and asked for further acquisitions. To this the chiefs replied, "We beg leave to present this commusication as a positive and unchangeable refusal to never dispose of one foot more of land."[2]

Again in 1827 they declared that they would "no never," cede any more land. As early as 1821 they were enacting laws in their council to prohibit the natives from selling their land.[3]

Meanwhile the state of Georgia, through her legislature was enacting laws, extending her jurisdiction over the Cherokee country. On December 26, 1826 the following law was assented to: "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in general assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that from and after passage of this act, no Indian, and no descendant of an Indian, not understanding the English language, shall be deemed a competent witness in any court of justice, created by the constitution or the laws of this state." Again on December 20, 1828, the civil and criminal jurisdiction of Georgia was extended by the following act: "Be it resolved . . . . .That all laws, usages and customs made, established and in force in the said territory, by the said Cherokee Indians, be, and the same are hereby, on and after the first day of June, 1830, declared null and void."[4]

1. "Letters of William Penn", by Jeremiah Evarts. Removal of the Cherokees Lumpkin. Vol. 7, p. 72.
2. The Athenian, No. 3, 1829—Cherokee Phoenix, Dec. 3, 1829.
3. Cherokee Phoenix, May 30, 1831. Christian Index.
4. The Digest of Georgia Laws—Prince;K Georgia Journal; Athenian and Cherokee Phoenix.

It was seen that if Georgia ever acquired any more territory, she could not get it "peacefully and on reasonable terms." The Cherokee country had become a rendezvous of robbers, and earlier, the majority of the Tories who were dodging the Georgia law, had taken up their residence with them. These were giving a great deal of trouble along the frontier. From the press of that day, it appears that the greatest trouble with the Cherokees was robbery, and more especially horse stealing.

It was natural that the missionaries who had become devoted to their work and to the Indian cause, were ever striving for a betterment of relations. At this time the capital of the Cherokee nation was New Echota, Georgia. At this place were missions of the various denominations of the American Board. Also there were in New Echota at this time, 1829, the leaders and head chiefs of all the Cherokees and there had developed among them quite a bit of politics and animosity over the removal to the west. One party headed by John Ross, was against emigration, which seemed to be the much greater party. Charles Hicks was the leader of the minority, in favor of removal.[1]

So one immediately sees that New Echota, being the capital of the nation, was a hot-bed of politics. The mission was the center of all this, for it was very much like the present day court-house, or general meeting house of the town. Rev. Samuel Worcester, of Vermont, was at the head of this mission. He was very popular with the natives, and it seems that various papers, though not authentic, state that he assisted the Cherokees in the making and execution of their laws. According to Cotter, several of the missionaries had drafted the constitution in 1826.[2]

At any rate these missionaries throughout the nation thought the extension of the Georgia laws over the nation unconstitutional and protested against them. From the Cherokee Phoenix, we find that meetings were held, in which numbers of memorials were drafted and sent both

1. History of the American Board of Foreign Missions, 1831.
2. Hamilton, History of the Missions of the Moravian Church.

to Congress and to the State Legislature. These poured in from every missionary of the Board, who were all New Englanders, from the other denominations, and especially letters and pamplets signed by "William Penn," which were written by Dr. Jeremiah Evarts, who was Corresponding Secretary of the Board at the time.

It is true that her laws were contrary to the treaties that had been made, but Georgia had been waiting patiently on the government for twenty six years, and now she was carrying out the policy suggested by the Indian Agent, Colonel McKenny, that Georgia "take them kindly by the hand and tell them that they must go."

The lower class of whites in the territory gave quite a bit of trouble. The Tories were still bitter, and they encouraged opposition to Georgia. All this resulted in the law passed at the next Legislature, December 1829, requiring that all white men within the nation leave, or take the following oath of allegiance: "I, A. B., do solemnly swear, or affirm, as the case may be, that I will support and defend the Constitution and the laws of the State of Georgia, and uprightly demean myself as a citizen thereof."[1]

Then followed a widespread denunciation of Georgia and her laws. The missionaries complained that the laws were enacted because of them, they having been falsely indicted for interfering with the politics of the Cherokees. The American Board drafted and sent resolutions. The following is a portion of one: "The Cherokees refused to treat for the sale of their country; their unwillingness to sell ascribed to the influence of the missionaries, who it was said were acting inconsistently with their professed character, by giving advice on political questions. If the missionaries, by the direction of their employers, had given advice on every question that came before the Cherokee people, they would only have exercised an undoubted right, and no person on earth would have had any just reason to complain, but the charge was false."

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1. History of the American Board of Foreigs Missions

Throughout the Cherokee Nation, meetings of denunciation were held, defying the laws of Georgia. The most of these meetings were held around the missions of the Board, the missionaries always expressing their sympathy. At one meeting the following was read in the form of a memorial in behalf of them: "The Indians had better stand to arms . . . . . .We will take up arms for the Indians in such a war with as much confidence of our duty as we would stand on the shores of the Atlantic, to repel the assults of the most barbaric invader. . . . . ."[1]

On December 29, 1829, a meeting was held at New Echota of five missionaries of the Board, two Moravians and one Baptist, "for the purpose of making such a public declaration as the state of things seemed to require." Rev. Mr. Butrick was made Chairman, and Rev. Worcester Secretary. The following resolutions were adopted, and published in the Cherokee Phoenix.

"Resolved, That we view the Indian question, at present so much agitated in the United States, as being merely not of a political nature, but of a moral nature, inasmuch as it involves the maintenance or violation of the faith of our country, and as demanding therefore, the most serious consideration of all Americans, not only as patriots, but as Christians.

"Resolved, That we regard the present crisis of affairs, relating to the Cherokee Nation, as calling for our sympathy, and prayers and aid of all benevolent people throughout the United States.

"Resolved, That the frequent insinuations which have been publicly made, that missionaries have used an influence in directing the political affairs of this nation, demand from us an explicit and public disavowal of the charge; and that we therefore solemnly affirm that in regard to ourselves at least, every such insinuation is entirely unfounded.

"Resolved, that while we distinctly aver that it is not any influence of ours, which has brought the Cherokees to the resolution not to exchange their place of residence, yet

1. History of the American Board of Foreign Missions.

it is impossible for us not to feel a lively interest in a subject of such vital importance to their welfare; and that we can perceive no consideration, either moral or political, which ought in the present crisis, to prevent us from a free and public expression of our opinion.

"Resolved, therefore, that we view the removal of this people to the west of the Mississippi, as an event to be most earnestly deprecated, threatening greatly to retard, if not totally arrest, their progress in religion, civilization, learning, and the useful arts; to involve them in great distress, and to bring upon them a complication of evils, for which the prospect before them would offer no compensation.

"Resolved, That we deem ourselves absolutely certain that the feelings of the whole mass of the Cherokee people, including all ranks, and with scarcely a few individuals excepted, are totally adverse to a removal, so that nothing but force, or such oppression as they would esteem equivalent to force, could induce them to adopt such a measure.

"Resolved, as our unanimous opinion, that the establishment of the jurisdiction of Georgia and other states, over the Cherokee people, against their will, would be an immense and irreparable injury."

The Georgia laws went further and prohibited the Cherokees from assembling together in council, and arrested a number of them. The Cherokee Phoenix printed all accounts of these laws and all the resolutions from organizations throughout the country, which produced a bit of indignation on the part of the natives. The Cherokees were struggling for their cause, and were procuring false arrests and having mock trials. It is true that the whites shamefully intruded. The laws of Georgia had gone so far that no Cherokee was allowed to work for a white, under penalty of forfeiting all his property. This is illustrated by a white, begging an Indian to transfer him across to Coosa River, on his ferry, to see his daughter stated by him to be dying. The Cherokee refused at first but finally carried

him across, upon which the white told him of his intrigue and took possession of his ferry and property.[1]

For vengeance the Cherokees did many barbarous acts. The case of Jesse Stansal furnishes an illustration. He was arrested under pretense of violating laws and was detained in custody for two days without trial, and then suspended by the wrists to a tree and given fifty lashes on his bare back, mith large hickory sticks, which almost killed him.[2]

This missionaries denied emphatically any interference politically with the Cherokees. There is no direct evidence that they did interfere, except through the psychology of their sympathies, as embodied in the various memorials and resolutions. The Methodists of Tennessee rebuked the charge, but asked their missionaries to withdraw soon afterwards. The Baptist missionaries took the oath, but the members of the Board refused, Messrs. Butler and Worcester saying, "The law was designed to operate, and did operate, as an interruption to missionaries' labor..... The expulsion of the missionaries was the particular object of the law." They felt that if they took the oath, it would mean their endorsement of what Georgia was doing.

Meanwhile the United States troops had been withdrawn from Georgia and the Georgia Guard was in control. They had quelled several riots between the two political parties, and had made a number of false arrests. Their behavior on other occasions had been the cause of much indignation on the part of the citizens of Georgia and the whole country. Colonel Charles H. Nelson was in charge. One incident is recorded of their unbecoming behavior at the Baptist mission at Tensewatee, where Rev. Duncan O'Bryant was in charge. He was baptizing several of his mission in a stream near the church. During the exercises the men of the Georgia Guard, "claiming to be possessed by the spirits," tried to run over the Indians in order to baptize their horses. After getting in the water, they mocked religion and baptism.[3]

1. Historical Collections-White
2. The Athenian, Nov. 3. 1829—Cherokee Phoenix, Dec. 3, 1829.
3. Georgia and State Rights—U. B. Phillips.

In January, 1831, the missionaries at Carmel, Hightower, Haweis, and New Echota, the missions of the American Board in Georgia, received copies of the law of Georgia requiring all resident whites to swear allegiance and secure a license from the governor, or leave by March first. Worcester denounced this, because of the fact that the United States controlled the relations over the Indians; that the missionaries had the consent of the President to work among the Cherokees; and that if he yielded to the law which he branded as unconstitutional, it would have a very unfavorable effect upon the Cherokees.

It is to be noticed that only the missionaries of the Board, who were from the North, received these letters. The Methodists complained of this through their organ, The Repertory, published in Macon, but the Cherokee Phoenix denied this, Elias Boudinot, the editor said that "all were arrested and all put in chains." From both the Phoenix and the Georgia Journal one would acquiesce in the statement that they gave more trouble in defying the laws than the other missionaries. Wilson Lumpkin in a speech to Congress, said that they, together with the "Canting fanatics" of the North, who were the members of the Board, cost the Government more than $100,000. . .

But few missionaries left at first. On March 12, 1831, a detachment of the Georgia Guard, composed of twenty-five men under Colonel Nelson, arrived at Carmel and arrested Mr. Proctor. On Sunday, March 13, they went to New Echota, which was thirty miles away and arrested Mr. Worcester. March 14, at Hightower they arrested Mr. Thompson. These were all conveyed to headquarters on the next day, March 15th, at Camp Gilmer. On March 17th, through their council, Chester, Underwood and Harris, they were released on habaes corpus proceedings, before the Superior Court of Gwinnett County. Judge Clayton overruled the motion that the law was unconstitutional and void. But as the missionaries were employed in expending the United States money, for the education of the Indians, and as Mr. Worcester was postmaster at New

Echota, he held that they were agents of the government. Worcester says in his letters, that at this first time they were arrested, they were treated with as much civility and kindness as could be expected. On May 7th following, Mr. Butler was arrested, but was released because of illness in his family.[1] Gotlieb Byham, who was postmaster at Spring Place, the Moravian mission, was arrested but was soon released. He, together with the other Moravians, escaped to the home of Captain McNair, just across the border in Tennessee. Harry G. Clauder continually visited his members until March 21, when he was arrested but released to withdraw from Georgia within ten days.[1]

When Georgia in 1832 divided the lands of the Cherokee country by lottery, the mission property at Oochgelogy was taken from the church and seized by strangers. In 1833, three families moved in and compelled Clauder, who had succeeded Byham as postmaster, to give up half of the mission house at Spring Place, and then an alleged agent of Georgia drove off the missionaries. After Spring Place was made the county seat, this church was turned into the courthouse.

After the release of the missionaries, Governor Gilmer took up correspondence with President Jackson in regard to the status of the missionaries as agents of the United States. The President replied that he did not on any sense regard any of them as such. Upon request of Governor Gilmer, Worcester was removed from the office of postmaster.

On May 16, Governor Gilmer informed the missionaries of the Board by letter of the attitude of the general government towards them. On June 7, Dr. Butler and Worcester replied, stating fully their attitude as above. Messrs. Butrick Proctor and Thompson removed with their families to Brainerd. Mr. Thompson continued to preach and visit at Hightower.

June 22, Colonel Nelson notified Miss Fuller, who was left in charge of the station at the last named place, that he

1. Removal of the Cherokees—Lumpkin. Vol. 1, p. 43.

would take over the mission on the next day. When Mr. Thompson heard of this he wrote to him, greatly objecting. He was arrested, chained and made to walk through forests asd swamps for fifty miles to Camp Gilmer, where he tayed in jail for only a few minutes. Colonel Sanford censured him for too great freedom of speech, and then without assigning any reason for his arrest, released him.

On July 7, Worcester was again arrested and taken ten miles, where they met Colonel Nelson and detachment with Rev. J. J. Trott, a Methodist missionary who had a Cherokee family, and a Cherokee by the name of Proctor. They were made to march on foot for twenty-two miles. On their way, they met Mr. McLeod and Mr. Wells, two other Methodist ministers, who asked Trott if he had been chained. Upon an affirmative answer, McLeod said, "It seems they proceed more by order, than by law. "This, together with several other impudent remarks, gave offense, and Colonel Nelson ordered him to leave and to return to Tennessee. He replied, "I will, but you will hear from me again." He was then arrested and made to walk on with them. Wells galloped off on his horse in a different direction. Sergeant Brooks compelled McLeod to keep in the middle of the road, threatening to thrust his bayonet through him if he turned aside. Thus he had to walk through mud and mire for thirty-five miles, and nearly every step of the way, Brooks tormented them with the vilest and most profane language. He continually said, "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom."

At night the prisoners were chained together in pairs. Mr. Wells had met Mr. Thompson with the guards and followed to aid McLeod. When Nelson saw him, he cut a large stick and drove up behind him and gave him a severe blow on the head.

Meanwhile Dr. Butler had been arrested and was on his way to the prison. He had been chained by the neck to the horse, with the danger of falling or stumbling. When it became so dark and Dr. Butler had walked until he could

go no further, the guard put him behind his saddle on his horse. The chain around the neck of Butler and the horse, drew the neck of the horse back and he stumbled and fell upon the two. Neither one could move and they were forced to stay in that position until some one passed and helped them. As a result, two of the guard's ribs were broken. When they reached the prison, Brooks said, "There is where all the enemies of Georgia have to land, there and in Hell.". They were all chained by the necks to the walls.

By writ of habeas corpus, Butler and Worcester were released on bond, from the Inferior Court of Gwinett County, to appear before the Superior Court in September. Worcester went to Brainerd, where he stayed until August 17, when he was called to New Echota, on account of the death of his infant daughter, and the illness of his wife. He arrived there on Tuesday, August 16. Wednesday morning he was arrested by a disguised guard at his home, but was released.

On September 15, Butler, Worcester, Thompson, Wells, Proctor, McLeod, Trott, Wheeler, Nellum, and Mayes were all tried in Lawrenceville and sentenced by Judge Clayton to four years of imprisonment in the penitentiary, recommending them to executive clemency, if they would take the oath. They were sent to Milledgeville and on September 22, all were pardoned who promised to leave the state, by Governor Gilmer. Butler and Worcester refused, at the suggestion of the Board, that they be martyrs of their cause, if necessary.

The prison was a rudely made house, with only one opening, and that the door. The floor was made of logs split in half, and there was no furniture.

After they were in Milledgeville, Worcester and several others, wrote Colonel Charles Nelson the following:

"Col. Ch. H. Nelson.

Sir: If it be consistent with the necessary regulations, it would be a high gratification to some of the prisoners, if Mr. Trott and Mr. Worcester, might be permitted to hold

a meeting, tomorrow evening, at some place where such of the guard and of the neighbors as are disposed, might attend. If the favor can be granted, be so kind as to give us an answer as soon as convenient. We wish to be understood that we should all greatly desire the privilege of attending."

(Signed.) S. A. Worcester J. J. Trott
Elizur Butler Samuel Mayes

The note was returned with the following written on the outside:

"We view the within request as an impertinent one. If your conduct be evidence of your character, and the doctrines you wish to promulgate, we are sukciently enlightened as to both. Our object is to restrain, not to faciliate their promulgation. If your object be true piety, you can enjoy it where you are. Were we hearers, we would not be benefitted, devoid as we are of confidnce in your honestly.

(Signed) C. H. Nelson.[1]"

The Prudential Committee, of the Board send a memorial to President Jackson in behalf of the missionaries. He replied through the Secretary of War, that he could not interfere since the Georgia laws had been extended. At the same time Worcester and Butler had carried their case to the Supreme Court, with an able counsel in the person of William Wirt, former Attorney General, and John Sargeant, who had been counsel in the case of the Cherokee Nation versus the State of Georgia. The Court had sent a citation to the Governor for Georgia to appear before that body on the first Monday in March, 1832, and answer why they were held and why a writ of error should not be granted. But Georgia did not appear. In the decision of the former case, the court had refused the injunction prayed for, which was favorable to Georgia. This time, Chief Justice Marshall rendered the decision in favor of the missionaries. He held that the laws of Georgia were unconstitutional and void, and ordered that all proceedings on the indictments against the missionaries "do

1. History of the American Board of Foreign Missions.

for ever surcease" and they "be and hereby are, dismissed therefrom."[1]

On March 17, 1832, Mr. Chester, supported by Mr. Underwood and General Harden, moved in the Superior Court of Georgia that the mandate be received and obeyed. The court refused, and to keep the United States Supreme Court from enforcing its decision, would not allow its own decision to be recorded, or any matter relating to it. To support this decision, Chester made an affidavit and Judge Clayton signed it, certifying the facts. Mr. Chester then applied by letter to Governor Lumpkin for the release of the prisoners. He refused to answer in writing, saying "You got 'round Clayton, but you shall not get 'round me."

The Georgia Guards had been stationed in the buildings of the Board at Carmel and Hightower. The produce of the fields was consued and destroyed, together with the fowls and swine belonging to the mission. Mrs. Worcester and Mrs. Butler, who had been residing at their old homes at New Echota and Haweis, were ordered to leave, or they would be ejected by the guard. The property was to be sold or rented for the benefit of the state. They removed to Brainerd.

January 8, 1833, upon the advice of the Prudential Committee, Messrs. Butler and Worcester notified Attorney Wirt not to push their case in the Supreme Court. They also notified the Governor and the Attorney General that they had dropped it. In their letter to Governor Lumpkin, they stated, "We have not been led to the adoption of this measure by any change of views in regard to the principle on which we have acted." Governor Lumpkin thought that this was disrespectful, and "determined that as long as they regarded the 'principle on which they acted' so highly, they might stand by it in the penitentiary."

When they learned of the Governors attitude, they wrote again.[2]

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1. The Cherokee Nation VS Tre State of Georgia 5 Peters P. 1.
2. Historical Collections—White.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY,

Wilson Lumpkin,

Governor of the State of Georgia.

Sir: We are sorry to be informed that some expressions in our communication of yesterday were regarded by Your Excellency as an indignity offered to the state, or its authorities. Nothing could be further from our design. In the course we have now taken, it has been our intention, simply to forbear the prosecution of our case, and to leave the question of the continuance in confinement to the magnanimity of the state.

We are respectfully yours

(Signed) S. A. WORCESTER,
ELIZUR BULTER.

On January 14th, after serving from September 15, 1831, sixteen months, they were released and immediately left the state. At that time the legislature of Georgia repealed the laws that had been enacted.

After the final treaty with the Cherokees was made in 1835, the government reimbursed the various missionary boards, whose property they had taken and destroyed. They also set aside money to care for the removal of the missionaries.

Elias Boudinot said that the actions of the Georgia Guard in their treatment of the missionaries in such an uncalled for manner, had an adverse effect upon them. The Georgians had objected to their efforts, because it was said that they were instilling into the Indians a love for their country.

THE REMOVAL OF THE CHEROKEES

Thus it is clear, that the Indians were determined not to leave Georgia. By the Compact of 1802, as has been seen, the United States had guaranteed to Georgia alone the exclusion of the Indian title. In 1828, the United States had received in cessions 1,612,800 acres in Alabama, (1805); 1,209,600 acres in Alabama and Tennessee,

(1806); 26,760 acres in South Carolina, (1816); 1,887,360 acres in Alabama, March 22, 1816; 1,395,200 acres in Alabama, (October 4, 1816); 1,437,260 in North Carolina, (1819); and 738,560 acres in Tennessee, (1819). This makes a total of 8,542,540 acres, which was eight times as much as the Cherokees had in Georgia, and for which the government had paid twelve millions of dollars.

It was no wonder that the Georgians blamed the national government for bad faith. They felt that the United States had encouraged, to an extent, the attitude taken by the Cherokees, by continually receiving their delegates with diplomatic courtesies, and treating with them as a foreign power. In 1830 Governor Troup took issue with President Monroe's message to Congress, that the government "was under no obligation to use other means than peaceable and reasonable ones."[1] He said that the Indians were that they were tenants at will.

At a convention in New Echota on July 26, 1827, a national constitution was adopted by the representatives of the nation. It asserted that the Cherokee Indians constituted one of the sovereign and independent nations of the earth, having complete jurisdiction over its territory, to the exclusion of the authority of any other state.[2]

Thus they had advanced in civilization, to an extent that it rendered it rather hard and impracticable to enforce any of the laws of the United States, in regard to intercourse with them. The United States government prohibited any man from settling on any Indian country, or trading or trafficing with any article, unless under special permit or license from the legal authority of the United States.[3] In total disregard of this, the Cherokees resolved through their Committee and Council "to suffer no man to settle in their limits and trakc and trade with their people without first obtaining a permit or license to do so, from the Cherokee authorities.[4]

1. Georgia and State Rights. U. B. Phillips.
2. American State Papers—(Indian Affairs) Vol. II. Cherokee Nation of Indians, Royce.
3. Removal of the Cherokees—Lumpkin, Vol. I. P. 43.
4. Cherokee Phoenix, March 20, 1823, Removal of the Cherokees—Lumpkin, Vol. 1, P. 43.

So there were three distinct sovereign legislatures making conflicting laws over one and the same people at the same time. Under such circumstances, something had to be done. The President of the United States notified the Cherokees, through the Indian agent Montgomery, that their new constitution could not be considered in any other light, than as regulations of a purely municipal character, and that their relation to the general government, stood unchanged.[1]

The following year, Governor Forsyth, in his last message to the Georgia Legislature, recommended the extension of the Georgia laws over them, instead of expelling them, but suggested that the President ask them to remove from the State. Accordingly on December 20, 1828, by an act, the Georgia laws were extended over all whites within the territory, and it was also enacted that on and after June 1, 1830, all Indian residents therein, were to be subject to such laws and all of their law would be null and void.[2]

Following this was the great rush for gold in Cherokee Georgia, by thousand of whites from Georgia and other states. These intrusions were unlawful under three separate governments, but none of the three were able to check the prevailing disorder. Georgia attempted it first. October 29, 1850, Governor Gilmer wrote to the President, and told of Georgia's recent legislative enactments, and asked that the United States troops, which had been stationed to quell disorder and to prvent intruders from settling on Cherokee soil, be withdrawn.[3]

General Andrew Jackson, who was in charge, was in sympathy with Georgia, and being opposed to President Adam's policy, immediately complied with Governor Gilmer's request.[4] After other laws were enacted, entending the jurisdiction of Georgia over the Cherokees, the chiefs determined to resort to the Supreme Court, for an injunction, in a final effort to save themselves.

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1. Removal of the Cherokees—Lumpkin, Vol. 1, P. 265.
2. Digest of Georgia Laws—Prince.
3. Georgians, Gilmer.
4. Georgia and State Rights—Phillips.

Before this the convention of judges of Georgia in Milledgeville had declared the constitutionality of the recent Georgia laws. Judge A. S. Clayton took a prominent part in this meeting, because most of his district was in the Cherokee country, and because the case of George (Corn) Tassel was to come up under him in the next Superior Court of Hall County.

On trial, November 22, 1830, Tassel was convicted and sentenced to be hunged December 24, 1830. Judge Clayton refused to grant an appeal by writ of error to the Supreme Court, and even refused to certify that Tassel was tried. He was executed in defiance of the writ of error sanctioned by Chief Justice Marshall and served on Governor Gilmer, on December 22, only two days before the execution. The citation called for Georgia to appear before the Supreme Court on the second Monday in January and to answer why Tassel was tried and convicted. Governor Gilmer turned it over to the Georgia Legislature with the following message: "So far as concerned the exercise of the power which belongs to the Executive Department, orders received from the Supreme Court for the purpose of staying or in any manner interferring with the decisions of the courts of the states, in the exercise of their constitutional jurisdiction, will be disregarded and any attempt to enforce such orders will be resisted with whatever force the laws have placed at my command." The Legislature in joint assembly, resolved their regrets as to the interference, and requested all citizens of Georgia, the Governor and other officers, "to disregard any and every mandate and process that has been or shall be served upon him or them, purporting to proceed from the Chief Justice or any associate Justice, or the Supreme Court of the United States, for the purpose of arresting the execuion o any of the criminal laws of the state. And be it further resolved, that His Excellency, the Governor, be, and is hereby authorized and required, with all the force and means placed at his commands by the onstitutional laws of this state, to re-

sist and to repel any and every invasion from whatever quarter upon the administration of the criminal law."

Soon after this, the case of the Cherokee Nation versus the State of Georgia was docketed in the Supreme Court. The bill of the complainant set forth the fact that they were a "foreign state, not owing allegiance to the United States, nor to any state in this union, nor to any prince, potentate, or state other than their own." They further declared themselves to be the owners of the land, because of the right of first discovery, and that they were an independent, sovereign state, taking into consideration the former treaties with the Cherokees.

The bill was brought, praying an injunction to restrain the State of Georgia from the execution of certain laws of that state, especially to declare null those of 1828-29; these laws they averred, went to annihilate the Cherokees as a political society, to seize for the use of Georgia, those lands which had been guaranteed to them by the United States, in solemn treaties, repeatedly made and still in force.

The case came up for hearing in the January term, 1831. The counsel cited fully all grievances, especially the later ones, as the action of the state of Georgia in defiance of the writ of error, in re George Tassel, the laws of Georgia preventing the assembling together of the Cherokees for any other purpose than to cede land, the authorization by the Georgia Legislature of a survey of the Cherokee lands, for the lottery, the taking possession of the gold mines, and the stationing of armed forces at the mines, and throughout the nation, for the enforcement of the Georgia laws. No counsel appeared in behalf of Georgia.

In rendering the decision, Chief Justice Marshall granted that the Indians were a state, but were not a foreign nation. He said, "they may more correctly perhaps be denominated domestic dependent nations." Quoting further: "If it be true that the Cherokee nation have rights, this is not the Tribunal in which those rights are to be asserted. If it be true that wrongs have been inflicted, and that still greater

are to be apprehended, this is not the tribunal, which can redress the past or prevent the future. The motion for an injunction is denied."[1]

It has already been seen how the Cherokees were given the decision long hoped for in the personal cases of Worvester vs. Georgia, and Butler vs. Georgia. The laws were declared null and void, and the judgments of the Georgia courts were received. Yet these decisions established the permanent triumph of Georgia's policy, and rendered it only a question of a very few years when the Indians would be driven from their territory within the limits of the state.[2]

Again in 1834 there occurred a controversy between Georgia, the Supreme Court, and the Cherokee Nation. For a third time a citation summoned the State of Georgia through her representative to show cause why the error in a certain case should not be corrected. In this instance it was the case of James Graves vs. Georgia, who had been tried and convicted of murder, and who was later executed according to the sentence of the Georgia court. Governor Lumpkin and the legislature again denounced the Federal government.[3] It is interesting to note Governor Gilmer's action in disregarding the decision in the case of Georgia vs. Cunetoo, which had been tried by Judge Clayton in Walton County. The defendant was jailed for digging gold on his own land, but Judge Clayton had released him, because, he said, that the Cherokees had the use of the precious minerals found on their own lands.

It is also to be remembered with reproach that the Georgia Legislature tried to impeach Judge John W. Hooper for refusal to enforce the Georgia laws, and for granting so many injunctions to the Cherokees. Meanwhile the lands had been distributed by the land lottery system in 1834, and the people were moving in. President Jackson persisted in his attempts to persuade the Cherokees to leave in a body.

1. The Cherokee Nation vs. The State of Georgia.
2. Georgia and State Rights—Phillips.
3. Removal of the Cherokees—Lumpkin.

In the same year, 1834, the Cherokees fell into two parties, which division hastened their removal. One of these was headed by John Ross, who was opposed to removal and further treaties, and which party was the stronger, and the other by John Ridge, in favor of emigration. These two factions engendered much ill feeling among the tribe.

OnDecember 29, 1835, at New Echota, the final treaty was concluded between the United States agents, William Carroll and John F. Schermerhorm and the Ridge faction, because the Ross faction opposed it, which providd for the cession of all the Cherokee land east of the Mississippi, to the United States for $5,000,000. It was also agreed to give to hem seven million acres west of the Mississippi to pay the eypenses of removal, allowing $600,000, and to give them two years in which to remove.[1]

Public sentiment throughout the United States became stirred with sympathy for the Indians. Webster said, "There is a strong and growing feeling in the country that great wrong has been done to the Cherokees by the Treaty of New Echota." Henry Clay sympathized because of the injustice and "because the wrong would inflict a great wound on the character of the American Republic." Henry A. Wise of Virginia said that the treaty was null and void, because there was no assent on the part of both parties. President Van Buren preferred a compromise and gave to the Cherokees two more years in which to withdraw. To this Governor Gilmer objected, because he feared it was another attack upon the sovereignty of the state. He declared his determination to take charge of the removal in person if the Federal government should fail.[2]

Elias Boudincot, perhaps the most educated Cherokee, after he was converted to emigration, said that John Ross and his party were "ignorant of their true situation, and are so completely blinded as not to see the destruction that awaits them."

1. The Cherokee Nations of Indians—Royce.
2. Georgians, Gilmer.

By 1838 only two thousand one hundred and three had removed to their new homes. General Winfield Scott was ordered to assume command of the Federal troops with power to collect an additional force, comprising a regiment of infantry and six companies of dragoons. He was to put the Indians in motion at once, and to call upon the Governors of Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama and North Carolina for militia and volunteers, not exceeding four thousand in number.

During the summer, six thousand were under the direction of the officers of the army. John Ross finally agreed to go, and at his request the Cherokees were to remove themselves, and be allowed sixty-five dollars and eighty-eight cents for the cost of removal.

December 4, 1838, the last party of the Cherokees took up their westward march. Ross said that 13,149 removed under his direction, for which he received $486,939.50. The one sad thing that stand out above everything else in regard to their removal, is that nearly one fourth of the emigrants died on the way side. According to Captain Stevenson, who received them on arrival, there were only only 11,504; Captain Page, the disbursing agent, said that of the sixteen thousand that left for the West, there were only 11,721 to reach their new home.

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN LOWER GEORGIA FROM 1890 TO 1920

WITH A SUMMARY FOR THE WHOLE STATE, 1850 TO 1920.

ROLAND M. HARPER, Ph.D.
Geological Survey of Alabama.

In the March and June numbers of the Quarterly the writer described geographical conditions in all parts of Georgia, the methods of illustrating them by means of census statistics, and the development of agriculture in each region from 1850 to 1880. In the September number the story was brought down to 1920 for the upper part of the state (highland region), and the present article does the same for the lower part or coastal plain, completing the series. A condensed summary for the whole state and entire period is added. The methods of investigation and their limitations have been pretty fully discussed in the previous articles, so that little more needs to be said about them here.

Some recent literature on the coastal plain of Georgia, not cited in the previous articles, should be mentioned. In November, 1906, the writer published a monograph on the vegetation of the Altamaha Grit region (rolling wiregrass country), as vol. 17, part 1, of the Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, with 414 pages, a map, and 28 plates. That described the geology, topography, soil, climate, vegetation, etc., of the region pretty fully, sketched conditions in the whole state briefly, and referred to the most important previous literature. Since that time several bulletins of the Geological Survey of Georgia, particularly No. 15, on the underground waters of the state (1908), and No. 26, on the geology of the coastal plain (1912), have added valuable information.

Three bulletins of the United States Department of Agriculture, nos. 492, 648, 1934, on farm management

studies in Sumter and Brooks Counties (1920-1922), contain a mass of detail about agricultural conditions, for whites and negroes and owners and tenants separately, surpassing anything ever attempted by the census. But unfortunately each of these counties lies in two quite distinct regions, which are not recognized at all in the bulletins, which therefore are not worth much for geographical purposes. If similar studies should ever be made, approximately simultaneously, of a typical red hill county and a typical wire-grass country, for example (or better still of every county), some very interesting comparisons would be possible.

The boundaries of the several regions discussed are shown again on the accompanying map, which represents conditions as they were exactly in the middle of the period covered by this series of articles. The counties were the same in 1890 as in 1880*

In the tables following the hammock belt and coast strip are omitted from the four that are chiefly made up of statistics of the number of inhabitants, value of farm property, number of animals, etc., *per square mile,* because the counties used to typify them all contain large areas of relatively sparsely settled piney woods, which would make the ratios very inaccurate. But these regions are included in the tables for white and colored farmers in 1910 and crop yields in 1919, for uninhabited areas have no influence on such ratios.

In each table the highest number in each line is printed in heavy type and the lowest in italics (as was done in the first two articles and would have been done in the third if the printers had not misunderstood), unless two are so

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* Those used to represent the several regions statistically are as follows:
Sand-hills:—Glascock, Taylor.
Blue marl region:—Chattahoochee, Quitman, Stewart.
Red hills:—Burke, Clay, Houston, Jefferson, Macon, Randolph, Schley, Twiggs, Washington, Webster, Wilkinson.
Red lime lands:—Calhoun, Dougherty, Lee, Terrell.
(Sandy) lime-sink region:—Baker, Dooly, Early, Miller, Mitchell, Pulaski.
Rolling wire-grass country:—Appling, Berrien, Bulloch, Coffee, Colquitt, Emanuel, Irwin, Montgomery, Tattnall, Telfair.
Hammock belt:—Brooks, Lowndes, Thomas.
Flat pine lands:—Charlton, Clinch, Echols, Effingham, Pierce, Ware, Wayne.
Coast strip:—Chatham, Glynn, McIntosh.

nearly equal that it is impossible to decide between them, or they fall in one of the omitted columns. In the latter

Map showing geographical or agricultural divisions of Georgia. The small areas without names are two portions of the Cumberland Plateau in the northwest corner, with a strip of Appalachian Valley between them, an outlier of the Blue Ridge in Polk and Paulding Counties, two portions of the fall-line sand-hills near the center of the state, and the Tallahassee red hills and peninsular lime-sinks region on the southern border. The railroads and counties are as in 1885.

case the fact is sometimes mentioned in the accompanying text. Most ratios over 10 are not carried out to decimals, for reasons explained in the former article on lower Georgia (in the June number). That same article describes the

TABLE 1.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF LOWER GEORGIA, 1889-90.

	Sand hills	Blue marl	Red hills	Red lime lands	Sandy lime sink region	Rolling Wire-grass	Flat pine lands
Inhabitants per square mile	24	32	31	35	23	12	8.6
Percent increase since 1880	1.8	4.1	5.7	8.7	21	65	40
Percent white	58	29	34	24	43	68	65
Percent colored	42	71	66	76	57	32	35
Percent in cities of over 8,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Percent in cities of 2,500-8,000	0	0	0	9.1	0	0	8.1
Percent in cities of 1,000-2,500	0	0	6.1	5.2	5.1	1.2	0
Percent of land improved	27	46	38	39	23	7.3	3.3
Improved acres per inhabitant	7.5	8.5	8.1	7.2	6.6	4.0	2.5
Value of farm land and bldgs., per sq. mi. ($)	2210	2965	2850	2385	1600	1040	435
Value of implements and machinery, per sq. mi. ($)	95	114	135	145	79	43	22
Value of live-stock, per sq. mi. ($)	500	576	608	705	495	342	193
No. of horses, per sq. mi.	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.4	1.8	1.0	0.7
No. of mules, per sq. mi.	2.6	4.1	3.6	4.5	2.2	0.8	0.3
No. of work oxen, per sq. mi.	0.9	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.5	0.4
No. of milch cows, per sq. mi.	3.6	3.9	3.2	3.6	5.4	4.7	3.5
No. of other cattle, per sq. mi.	7.7	7.2	5.5	6.1	11.5	12.8	8.6
No. of sheep, per sq. mi.	2.1	0.8	1.5	0.6	8.8	20.3	4.4
No. of hogs, per sq. mi.	29	19	31	25	31	25	14
No. of chickens, per sq. mi.	108	111	102	88	75	51	25
No. of other poultry, per sq. mi.	5.5	6.8	7.7	5.4	12.5	8.6	3.8
Cost of fertilizers, per sq. mi. ($)	114	144	158	175	96	50	17
Value of farm products, sq. mi. ($)	1380	2400	2110	2230	1335	528	218
Cost of fertilizers, per impr. acre	.63	.53	.65	.71	.64	1.07	.81
Value of products, per impr. acre	7.63	8.77	8.62	8.86	8.79	11.20	10.23
Pct. of improved land in cotton	35	41	41	45	40	27	19
Pct. of improved land in corn	32	25	28	29	33	35	39
Pct. of improved land in oats	4.7	4.3	3.6	5.3	4.8	7.4	4.2
Pct. of impr. land in sweet potatoes	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.7	2.4
Bales of cotton per acre	.32	.35	.34	.34	.35	.35	.26
Bu. of corn per acre	9.1	9.9	9.1	9.0	9.7	11.2	10.6
Bu. of oats per acre	9.2	11.5	10.5	10.1	8.5	9.7	9.0
Bu. of sweet potatoes per acre	75	71	69	73	92	80	97

differences between the several regions, so that little more needs to be said about them, and the figures will speak for themselves.

CONDITIONS IN 1889-1890

Table 1 shows the prevailing conditions in the several regions at the time of the Eleventh Census, which was taken in the summer of 1890, but ascertained crop yields, expenditures for fertilizers, etc., for the year 1889. Every region increased in population between 1880 and 1890, the sand-hills least and the wire-grass most. The density of population and percentage of negroes were still approximately proportional to soil fertility, except that the coast strip, the most densely populated, is not necessarily the most fertile, for a large part of its population is supported by fisheries and commerce. The only cities with more than 8,000 inhabitants, besides the fall-line cities, which belong partly to the Piedmont, were two seaports, Savannah and Brunswick, and the only ones between 2,500 and 8,000 (in the counties used for statistical purposes) were Albany, Thomasville, Valdosta and Waycross. Two regions had no places with as many as 1,000 inhabitants.

There was very little railroad building in lower Georgia between 1880 and 1890, except toward the end of the decade, when three lines (now belonging to the Seaboard Air Line) extending from Savannah north, west and south beyond the limits of the state were built. A part of the westbound line had existed for a few years previously as a narrow-gauge road from Americus to Lumpkin.

The percentage of improved land increased in every region, and with it the value of farm property per square mile, though the value per farm probably did not change much. The number of horses increased in every region except the red hills, but mules increased still more,now outnumbering horses in every region except the wire-grass and the two southeast of it.

Work oxen decreased in every region, but not very much in the two nearest the coast. Cows decreased also, and other cattle likewise except in the lime-sink, wire-grass and ham-

mock belts, and even there they did not keep pace with the population.

Sheep increased a little in the wire-grass country, but not as much as the population, and decreased in all the others, presumably on account of the dwindling free range and increasing number of dogs. Hogs decreased in the three uppermost regions (which had the smallest increase of population) and increased in the others, but more slowly than the population in most cases. Chickens apparently increased largely in every region, but that is because those hatched in the spring of the census year were not counted in 1880 (which I did not realize when the preceding article was written).

The expenditure for fertilizers per acre increased in every region, but not very much in the sand-hills, for some reason. The value of products per improved acre decreased a little in the sand-hills and more in the coast strip, but increased in all the others, in spite of a nation-wide decline in commodity prices. The figures for value of products in different regions are not strictly comparable, though, for in the wire-grass and similar regions a considerable part of the total consisted of beef, pork, wool, etc., raised on free range, which had nothing to do with improved land. Products per farm would be more significant, if we only had separate figures for whites and negroes, which however were not given by the 11th Census or any preceding one.

The relative importance of cotton increased a little in every region except the coast strip, and corn, the other great staple, fell off correspondingly. The yield of both cotton and corn increased in most regions. Oats and sweet potatoes did not change much relatively, either in acreage or in yield.

CONDITIONS IN 1899-1900

Between 1890 and 1900 the population increased rapidly nearly all over South Georgia, in spite of the "hard times" in the early part of the decade, and the fact that the lowest commodity prices in the whole history of the United States, in the latter part of the period, caused rather pessimistic

feelings, especially among farmers. Some of the wire-grass counties more than doubled in population, and that region as a whole gained nearly 75%, a rate almost unprecedented for any equal area in the eastern United States within the memory of the present generation. Many logging railroads developed into regular railroads, and some entirely new systems were started. In the blue marl region

TABLE 2.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF LOWER GEORGIA, 1899-1900.

	Sand hills	Blue marl	Red hills	Red lime lands	Sandy lime sink region	Rolling wire-grass	Flat pine lands
Inhabitants per square mile	28	33	33	41	30	20	11
Percent increase since 1890	16	5.1	7.6	18	33	74	33
Percent white	55	27	32	22	43	64	66
Percent colored	45	73	68	78	57	36	34
Percent in cities of over 2,500	0	0	1.5	14.5	0	0	10.7
Percent of land improved	30	41	40	46	32	13	4.9
Improved acres per inhabitant	7.1	7.6	7.9	7.2	6.7	4.0	2.8
Percent of farmers, white	70	37	41	26	54	81	87
Percent of white farmers, owners	49.9	46.0	48.5	48.8	55.0	68.4	80.0
Percent of white cash tenants	24.1	35.5	30.5	22.6	21.2	10.4	6.2
Percent of white share tenants	21.0	13.7	15.4	20.9	19.5	17.7	11.1
Percent of colored farmers owners	8.2	5.3	4.9	5.0	10.1	37.0	59.6
Percent of colored cash tenants	49.6	49.7	49.6	48.0	47.4	21.5	18.5
Percent of colored share tenants	41.2	43.0	43.9	45.9	41.4	38.6	15.6
Value of farm land per acre ($)	3.70	4.33	5.17	5.20	4.78	3.24	1.58
Value of farm property, per sq. mi.	3020	4040	3900	4010	3255	2460	970
No. of horses, per sq. mi.	1.3	1.6	1.7	1.6	2.1	1.4	0.8
No. of mules, per sq. mi.	3.5	4.7	4.3	5.5	3.3	1.7	0.5
No. of cattle, per sq. mi.	10.8	10.8	7.1	7.9	15.4	21.0	16.4
No. of sheep, per sq. mi.	1.1	0.4	0.3	0.1	7.8	17.1	5.0
No. of goats, per sq. mi.	2.0	0.6	0.7	0.5	2.6	2.5	2.0
No. of hogs, per sq. mi.	27	24	29	30	33	30	16
No. of chickens and guineas, sq. m.	58	73	81	93	78	51	24
No. of turkeys, per sq. mi.	0.7	2.2	2.3	3.2	2.4	1.5	0.8
No. of geese, per sq. mi.	1.4	0.4	2.3	1.0	4.5	7.9	3.4
No. of ducks, per sq. mi.	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.2
Colonies of bees, per sq. mi.	3.0	2.9	2.1	1.6	1.2	1.9	1.7
Cost of labor, per improved acre	.50	1.15	.84	1.06	.72	.66	.56
Cost of fertilizers, per impr. acre	.50	.37	.54	.52	.44	.77	.53
Value of products not fed to live-stock, per improved acre	7.00	7.54	7.83	7.68	7.10	11.28	10.80

however, which had the smallest population increase, the railroad mileage was diminished by about two miles by the straightening of what is now the Seaboard Air Line in Stewart County in 1896, and none has been added since.[1]

The negroes increased faster than the whites in most regions, presumably on account of the supplanting of lumbering, turpentining and stock-raising by cotton-growing, which requires a large amount of unskilled labor. The proportion of urban population increased, as it has been doing throughout the civilized world for many decades past.

The improved land increased nearly as fast as the population. White and negro farmers were counted separately for the first time in 1900, and every region had a larger proportion of whites among the farmers than in the total population, as was noted in the preceding article, covering upper Georgia for the same period. The percentage of farm owners among the whites was greatest in the wiregrass and flatwoods, where land was cheap, but among the negroes there were as many owners in the coast strip as in the flatwoods, for reasons not altogether obvious.

The value of farm land per acre, obtainable for the first time in 1900, was lowest in the most thinly populated region, the flat pine lands, and highest in the coast strip, as might have been expected; and the same is probably true of the value of farm property per square mile, though accurate figures for the coast strip are not possible under the circumstances. But if improved and unimproved land were valued separately there might not be much difference between the several regions, for in a thinly settled country the average farm consists mostly of unimproved land, which is worth very little.

Horses increased a little in most regions, but not as much as the population or number of farms. Mules now outnumbered them everywhere except in the flatwoods and

1 It may be worth recording as a hitherto unpublished incident of Georgia history that the railroad continued to charge for the transportation of passengers over the missing two miles until the summer of 1904, when the writer brought the matter to the attention of the Georgia Railroad Commission and had it stopped.

perhaps in the coast strip. Cattle continued to decrease with the passing of the free range, except in the wire-grass and flatwoods, and even there they did not keep pace with the great increase of population. Hogs increased and chickens decreased a little in most regions, if the figures are correct. Turkeys were most numerous in the more fertile regions, and geese in those that had the most free range; but whether the same was true in other states I have not investigatel. Ducks were much less numerous than turkeys and geese, except in the coast strip, where they about equaled turkeys and exceeded geese.

The expenditure for fertilizers per acre decreased between 1889 and 1899 in every region except the coast strip, but this may indicate a mere reduction in price rather than quantity, for in 1889 the phosphate fields of Florida had just been opened up, and that product may have been more expensive then than it was later. The value of products per-acre declined a little in the five uppermost regions and rose in the four lowermost, though that is not easily explained.

CONDITIONS IN 1909-1910

Soon after the beginning of the present century so many thriving towns had grown up at railroad junctions remote from county-seats in South Georgia that they began to demand courthouses of their own, and after more than a quarter of a century of inactivity in that line the legislature of 1904 provided for eight new counties (one in North Georgia and seven in South Georgia), which began to function in 1905. In 1906 another one was added to accomodate the "boom" city of Fitzgerald, founded as a G. A. R. colony about a dozen years before.

This legislation left the sand-hill and blue marl counties untouched, but cut off part of Burke in the formation of Jenkins, which made the red hill group a little more homogeneous. Jenkins was added to the list of lime-sink counties (though the eastern part of that region is not as typical as the southwestern, and the southern part of Dooly, including all the rolling wire-grass portion, made the new

county of Crisp, which however has not been used in any of the computations because it is about equally divided between lime-sink and wire-grass.

Ben Hill, Jeff Davis, Tift, Toombs and Turner Counties are wholly or mostly in the wire-grass, and increase the number of rows of figures to be copied and added to get

TABLE 3.

GENERAL AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF LOWER GEORGIA 1909-10.

	Sand hills	Blue marl	Red hills	Red lime lands	Sandy lime sink region	Rolling wire-grass	Flat pine lands
Inhabitants per square mile	30	31	34	48	38	30	15
Percent increase since 1900	8.0	—10	2.6	16	27	50	33
Percent white	56	24	31	21	41	66	67
Percent colored	44	76	69	79	59	34	33
Percent in cities of over 2,500	0	0	4.9	19.8	3.1	6.3	19.5
Percent of land improved	34	42	44	51	40	22	6.2
Improved acres per inhabitant	7.3	8.8	8.1	6.8	6.7	4.7	2.6
Value of farm land per acre ($)	7.20	8.28	12.05	16.10	14.70	13.60	4.96
Value of farm property, per sq. m.	6,700	7,160	8,880	11,500	10,150	9,580	2,510
No. of horses, per square mi.	1.6	1.1	1.7	1.4	2.3	1.5	0.8
No. of mules, per sq. mi.	4.6	5.0	5.6	7.2	5.3	3.8	1.0
No. of dairy cows, per sq. mi.	4.9	5.0	4.3	4.5	6.8	7.0	4.8
No. of other cattle, per sq. mi.	6.9	6.6	4.1	4.0	12.4	19.8	16.3
No. of sheep, per sq. mi.	0.3	0.3	0.1	0	5.0	9.5	3.6
No. of goats per sq. mi.	1.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.4	4.0	4.1
No. of hogs, per sq. mi.	33	21	23	30	54	54	28
No. of poultry, per sq. mi.	74	67	82	81	93	84	34
Colonies of bees, per sq. mi.	2.0	1.1	1.4	1.2	1.2	2.0	1.7
Av. value of horses, per head ($)	115	131	126	133	130	128	118
Av. value of mules, per head	140	157	151	158	157	167	153
Av. value of cattle, per head	11.1	13.9	16.1	17.8	10.8	9.74	9.55
Av. value of sheep, per head	1.10	2.90	1.92	4.70	1.66	1.55	1.68
Av. value of goats, per head	1.00	1.26	1.55	1.40	.84	.58	59
Av. value of hogs, per head	3.00	3.92	3.28	3.60	2.74	2.32	2.11
Av. value of poultry, per head	.33	.42	.38	.39	.35	.39	.45
Cost of labor (including board) per improved acre ($)	.95	1.20	1.22	1.60	1.20	1.08	1.28
Cost of fertilizers, per impr. acre	1.50	1.10	1.38	1.88	1.60	1.96	1.51
Cost of stock feed, per impr. acre	.12	.18	.18	.16	.20	.13	.22
Value of crops, per improved acre	16.50	14.47	16.80	18.90	18.95	23.40	10.00
Val. of animal products, impr. acre	2.26	1.23	1.32	0.95	1.53	3.14	4.26

statistics for that region from 10 to 15. Grady, formed from Thomas and Decatur, is added to the Hammock belt counties, but it is not very typical of that region, for it reaches all the way across the wire-grass to the lime-sink region. The formation of Grady made Decatur more homogeneous, and that could very well have been added to the list of lime-sink counties in 1910, but that has not been done.

Table 3 gives much the same sort of information for seven regions in lower Georgia that Table 2 did for the same regions a decade earlier, except that a section for the value of different kinds of farm animals is added.

The population continued to increase in most regions, but at a slower rate than between 1890 and 1900, and one region, the blue marl, lost over 10% if the figures are reliable. The cities grew faster than the country, as usual. The racial composition of the population did not change much. Improved land increased faster than population in nearly every region, making more improved acres per inhabitant, which is contrary to the usual tendency, but probably explained in large part by the decline of lumbering and turpentining, and the encroachment of cultivated fields on the cattle ranges.

The apparent value of farm land per acre more than doubled, but at least half of that change was due to a world-wide decline in the purchasing power of money, as noted in the preceding article. The value of farm property per square mile of course increased also, with the increase of population.

The number of horses increased in some regions and decreased in others, but mules increased everywhere, by this time outnumbering horses except in the coast strip. Cattle increased approximately 10% in every region, while sheep decreased about half in the area as a whole. Sheep are most numerous where the farmers are mostly white, for negroes seem to have little to do with them, in any part of the world. (See Table 5 on page 223 of the preceding article.) The number of hogs remained about the same in

the four uppermost regions and nearly doubled in the five lowermost. Goats, poultry and bees increased in some and decreased in others.

The variations in value of cattle, sheep, goats and hogs in different regions are interesting. Generally speaking, the most valuable animals are in the more fertile regions, where they are kept in pastures, and the least in the poor regions, where there is a great deal of free range, on which such animals can be raised at nominal expense and sold very cheaply. (There seems to be nothing in the census statistics to show that the net profits on scrub cattle and razorback hogs are any less than on blooded stock.)

The expenditures for labor per acre increased in about the same ratio as prices in general, but those for fertilizers about trebled, presumably indicating a greater use of fertilizers. The (apparent) values of products per acre about doubled, in consequence of the increased expenditures.

Tables 4 and 5 give separate figures for white and colored farmers in all the nine divisions of lower Georgia, for 1910. The colored farmers were all negroes except two in Chatham County, who were probably Chinese, as there were two Chinese farmers somewhere in Georgia at that time. By this time the red lime lands and the coast strip proved an exception to the previously prevailing tendency for whites to be proportionately more numerous among the farmers than in the total population. That is doubtless correlated with the concentration of whites in cities in those regions, leaving negroes decidedly in the majority in the rural districts.

The number of foreign white farmers is insignificant, except in Ben Hill County and the coast strip. The largest proportion of owners among the whites is in the flatwoods, where land is cheapest, and the red lime lands represent the opposite extreme. The same two regions are also opposite extremes in percentage of improved land, white and negro farmers, and number of improved acres per farm (of white farmers). The poorest white farmers, however, are in the sand-hills, and the richest in the coast strip.

TABLE 4.

STATISTICS OF WHITE FARMERS IN LOWER GEORGIA, 1909-10.

	Sand hills	Blue marl	Red hills	Red lime lands	Sandy lime-sink	Rolling wire-grass	Hammock belt	Flat pine lands	Coast strip
Percent of total	63.0	28.2	34.6	*18.0*	44.1	73.2	52.0	**84.1**	37.0
Percent foreign-born	0	0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	**6.0**
Pct. owners & part owners	49.3	52.3	48.1	*46.8*	48.5	55.4	56.9	**75.6**	68.0
Percent managers	1.0	4.1	2.3	7.1	0.7	*0.4*	1.3	0.4	3.8
Percent tenants	**49.7**	43.6	49.6	46.1	50.8	44.2	41.8	*24.0*	28.2
Av. no. acres per farm	150.0	252.0	169.9	216.0	*124.8*	163.0	148.0	258.0	**385.0**
Improved acres per farm	53.5	95.0	82.3	**97.0**	56.1	42.4	50.5	*34.0*	48.0
Value of:									
Farm land per acre ($)	6.85	7.95	11.73	**14.90**	14.62	13.10	12.50	*4.84*	12.00
Farm land per farm	*1020*	2000	1990	3220	1820	2140	1865	1248	**4600**
Buildings per farm	*395*	654	678	890	485	500	560	414	**1650**
Implements and mchy.	90	173	149	230	108	94	120	*88*	**270**
Number of:									
Dairy cows per farm	1.3	1.9	*1.8*	1.3	2.0	2.4	2.7	4.5	**7.3**
Work horses per farm	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	*0.5*	0.8	0.7	**1.5**
Work mules per farm	1.1	1.5	1.6	**2.1**	1.1	1.1	1.1	*0.9*	1.1
Acres of cotton per farm	16.5	25.0	24.6	**32.8**	19.7	14.6	10.7	6.3	*0.4*
Acres of corn per farm	18.3	**23.4**	23.0	23.0	18.0	14.4	16.8	14.0	*9.7*
Bales of cotton per acre	.41	*.39*	.43	.48	.46	.49	.42	.40	**.62**
Bushels of corn per acre	10.4	*10.3*	10.8	12.8	12.4	14.2	13.9	14.3	**23.0**

Negro farm owners are relatively most numerous in the coast strip (as before), and least in the red lime lands. Those in the blue marl region have the most land under cultivation, and those in the coast strip the least. The poorest negro farmers, like the whites, are in the sand-hills, but the richest, at least as far as land is concerned, seem to be in the wire-grass, though those in the coast strip lead in buildings and machinery.

The coast strip has the most horses and dairy cows for both races, probably on account of the presence of the city of Savannah. The average white farmer has about one plow animal and a half, while the negro has just a little more than one to cultivate his proverbial forty acres. Some of the negroes in the flatwoods and coast strip evidently had neither horse nor mule.

TABLE 5

STATISTICS OF COLORED FARMERS IN LOWER GEORGIA, 1909-10.

	Sand hills	Blue marl	Red hills	Red lime lands	Sandy lime-sink	Rolling wire-grass	Hammock belt	Flat pine lands	Coast strip
Percent of total	37.0	71.8	65.4	**82.0**	55.9	26.8	48.0	*15.9*	63.
Pct. owners & part owners	10.2	7.1	6.8	*5.3*	9.7	23.2	27.0	58.1	**73.**
Percent tenants	89.4	92.7	93.1	**94.6**	90.3	76.7	72.9	41.9	*25.*
Av. no. acres per farm	64.3	87.8	63.1	*52.4*	57.3	64.8	54.4	**94.2**	62.
Improved acres per farm	40.1	**55.5**	48.5	48.1	44.8	35.6	35.5	19.8	*13.*
Value of:									
Farm land per acre ($)	8.65	8.70	12.50	**17.10**	14.70	17.10	13.95	*6.78*	12.3
Farm land per farm	*550*	765	786	895	861	**1109**	760	640	77
Buildings per farm	*125*	156	187	184	181	203	170	160	**24**
Implements and mchy.	*23*	38	41	39	43	42	31	31	**6**
Number of:									
Dairy cows per farm	*0.6*	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.2	**1.**
Work horses per farm	.15	*.12*	.22	.15	.28	.26	.41	.42	**.5**
Work mules per farm	0.9	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.5	*0.*
Acres of cotton per farm	18.2	25.8	24.0	**26.1**	23.0	16.0	12.4	4.7	*0.*
Acres of corn per farm	13.5	**15.8**	14.6	13.8	13.8	11.6	12.6	8.5	*4.*
Bales of cotton per acre	.38	*.33*	.37	.43	.40	.46	.36	.41	**.6**
Bushels of corn per acre	9.3	*8.7*	9.0	10.6	10.3	13.1	11.7	12.8	**20.**

The negroes specialize on cotton more than the whites do, as seems to be the case throughout the South, but the whites nearly everywhere make a little more to the acre. In corn the whites have the advantage in both acreage and yield, but the difference in yield is not great.

By subtracting the figures for negroes from those for all colored farmers we can ascertain that the two Chinese (?) farmers in Chatham County in 1910 averaged 20.5 acres of land, all improved, worth $2,700 or $131.70 per acre, buildings worth $300, and implements and machinery $500.

CONDITIONS IN 1919-1920

Between 1910 and 1920 several things happened in lower Georgia, some of them rather local and some part of nation wide or world-wide movements. The demand for new counties continued unabated. The eastern part of Pulaski

County was cut off in 1913 to form Bleckley, which made no change in the total area of the lime-sink counties. Seven counties were added to the wire-grass list, namely, Wheeler in 1913, Bacon, Candler and Evans in 1914, and Atkinson, Cook and Treutlen in 1919. Some of these took in parts of counties previously used to typify the flatwoods, and thus made both groups a little more homogeneous.

More significant was the arrival of the boll-weevil, which swept across Georgia from west to east during the decade, cut down the yield of cotton and thus raised its price, put many negro cotton-pickers out of employment, and caused other crops to be partly substituted for cotton, particularly peanuts, which seem to require about the same amount of labor per acre.[1]

Then the World War in the latter half of the decade first checked the demand for cotton temporarily, and then caused a great migration of southern negroes to northern factories and mines to take the place of foreigners who were hindered from immigrating; and the present immigration restrictions seem to be having a similar effect on the colored population in lesser degree. At the same time there was a shortage of imported fertilizers, particularly potash, which was produced mostly in Germany. A little later many able-bodied young men of both races were taken away from the farms, and finally the currency was inflated by bond issues until commodity prices in 1920 were just about double those of 1910.

The shortage of labor was partly met, throughout the country, by an increased use of machinery, and the shortage of fertilizer by cultivating more acres per man and giving more attention to live-stock and to crops which take little mineral food from the soil, such as syrup. The war strained the resources of the country, and although it did not cause the destitution here that it did in Europe, it must have made

1. A recent estimate places the cost of keeping the weevil in check, by means of labor and poison combined, at a little less than $2 per acre. This suggests the desirability of adding to future census schedules an item for expenditures for insecticides, the cost of which must exceed that of fertilizers and feed in many sections.

the average person poorer, even though the inflated prices and the large incomes of a few profiteers tend to obscure the fact.

In the state as a whole the apparent value of implements and machinery per farm increased from $72 in 1910 to $204 in 1920 ($97 to $279 for whites, $37 to $99 for negroes), and after allowing for the difference in value of

TABLE 6

GENERAL AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF LOWER GEORGIA

1919-20.

	Sand hills	Blue marl	Red hills	Red lime lands	Red lime sink	Rolling wire-grass	Flat pine lands
Inhabitants per sq. mi.	30	27	35	48	41	36	17
Percent increase since 1900	1.0	—12	1.3	—0.4	7.5	20	15
Percent white	58	37	35	28	44	67	66
Percent colored	42	63	65	72	56	33	34
Per cent in cities of over 2,500	0	0	5.4	25	4.8	8.9	22
Percent of land improved	36	35	42	50	46	32	8.9
Impr. acres per inhabitant	7.6	8.2	7.8	6.7	7.2	5.6	2.9
Percent of farmers white	63	31	36	20	43	71	84
Pct. of white farmers owners	51.4	51.5	45.5	42.1	44.1	50.0	72.6
Pct. of white farmers tenants	47.8	44.9	52.0	53.0	54.7	49.4	26.8
Pct. of col. farmers owners	7.6	11.4	8.7	6.0	8.0	15.9	44.0
Pct. of col. farmers tenants	91.8	88.4	91.0	93.9	91.8	84.0	55.9
Val. of farm land, per acre ($)	20.00	14.60	28.60	40.20	37.20	33.30	12.51
Val. of farm prop., per sq. mi.	15,900	11,000	19,850	26,200	24,500	22,600	5360
No. of horses, per sq. mi.	0.8	0.9	1.4	1.2	1.8	1.3	0.7
No. of mules, per sq. mi.	5.6	4.4	6.9	8.0	7.9	6.4	1.6
No. of beef cattle, per sq. mi.	4.7	5.0	2.9	2.9	9.2	19.4	19.9
No. of dairy cattle, per sq. mi.	9.8	9.6	8.3	8.4	11.7	11.2	1.8
No. of sheep, per sq. mi.	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	1.3	3.2	1.4
No. of goats, per sq. mi.	1.1	0.2	0.7	0.9	2.1	5.6	3.7
No. of hogs, pr sq. mi.	35	42	34	38	60	60	21
No. of chickens, per sq. mi.	99	60	96	85	120	121	44
No. of other poultry, per sq. m	2.8	4.2	6.3	9.0	10.6	12.4	3.4
Colonies of bees, per sq. mi.	2.3	0.7	1.2	0.5	1.1	2.2	1.9
Cost of labor (includ'g board) per improved acre	1.15	1.8	2.03	1.95	1.29	1.02	1.9
Cost of fertilizers, impr. acre	3.88	2.13	4.25	2.65	3.34	3.63	2.7
Cost of stock feed, impr. acre	.28	.25	.35	.27	.25	.32	.6
Val. of crops, per impr. acre	36.25	18.75	34.00	28.90	31.40	32.70	28.6

the dollar at the two periods it would seem that the amount of machinery must have increased nearly 50%. Some of the resulting changes in intensity of farming will be brought out farther on.

Another change, which had little to do with the war, was the enormous development of automobiles during the decade. Although most of those seem to be owned by city people and used mainly for pleasure, their owners had to have good roads to travel on, and even if all other factors had remained unchanged, the improvement of roads through the farming districts would tend to enhance the value of farm land and make farming more intensive.

As in other parts of the United States, few railroads were built during the war period, and several short lines were abandoned, largely on account of the competition of good roads, automobiles and trucks; which was rather inconvenient for those who did not own cars.

Table 6 shows much the same sort of data for seven regions as Table 2 did for the same twenty years earlier. The growth of population was checked a little by the war, as in most other parts of the world. There was a great decrease in the blue marl region again and a trifling one in the red lime lands, but in both the white population increased and the decrease can be ascribed to the northward migration of negroes. The percentage of whites increased in every region except the flatwoods, and in that region the city of Waycross accounted for nearly all the increase of population in the whole area. The war seems to have made most cities grow even faster than usual, while the rural population was practically at a standstill in many parts of the country.

The percentage of improved land increased in some regions and decreased in others, as did the number of improved acres per inhabitant. After allowing for the rise of prices there was still an increase in real farm land values, due to the increase of population, the improvement of roads, the increased proportion of improved as compared with unimproved land on farms, and perhaps other factors.

The number of horses declined in nearly every region, mostly on account of the increase of automobiles, but mules increased in most regions. Cattle also increased about 10%. Sheep continued to decline, but goats increased in some regions, and hogs and chickens in most. It will be observed that beef cattle are much more numerous than dairy cattle in the piney woods regions, where there is plenty of free range.

Expenditures for labor per farm and per acre did not change much, so that there must have been only about half as much labor employed in 1919 as in 1909. Expenditures for fertilizers and feed approximately doubled, like prices. The value of crops per acre was less than double in most regions, indicating lower yields, especially in the blue marl region.

At the present time the blue marl region is probably the best example in Georgia of extensive farming, i. e., cultivating a large number of acres per farm with a comparatively small yield per acre. This type of farming is also characteristic of the corresponding part of Alabama, and of the black belt, which adjoins it on the west, and still more so of the states between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, where corn and wheat are raised on very large farms with the aid of elaborate machinery. The population of all such regions (outside of cities) seems to be nearly at a standstill at present, and the blue marl region has been losing about one percent of its population annually for the last twenty years.

The coast strip is the nearest approach in Georgia to the other extreme, intensive farming, with small farms and high yields per acre, resulting from large expenditures for labor, fertilizer, etc., accompanied in most cases by rather high land values. This is partly on account of the city of Savannah furnishing a ready local market for vegetables, the good railroad connections with northern markets, the mild winter climate favoring early vegetables, and the level topography which allows water and fertilizer to be evenly distributed. (The original soil fertility hardly enters into the problem

at all.) Negroes happen to be in the majority in both the blue marl and the coast strip, but as a rule in most parts of the country they tend to engage in general farming, rather than in extensive farming with machinery, or intensive farming which to achieve the greatest success requires very efficient marketing.

Table 7 gives the relative acreage and yield of eight leading crops in lower Georgia in 1919. These seem to be those occupying the largest acreage in the area as a whole, but in some regions other crops may be more important than some of these eight. And it should be borne in mind that acreage and yield fluctuate from year to year, and the census year may have been abnormal in one way or another, so that the figures should not be taken too literally.

The relative acreage of cotton had declined since 1909 in some of the regions, especially the blue marl, and its

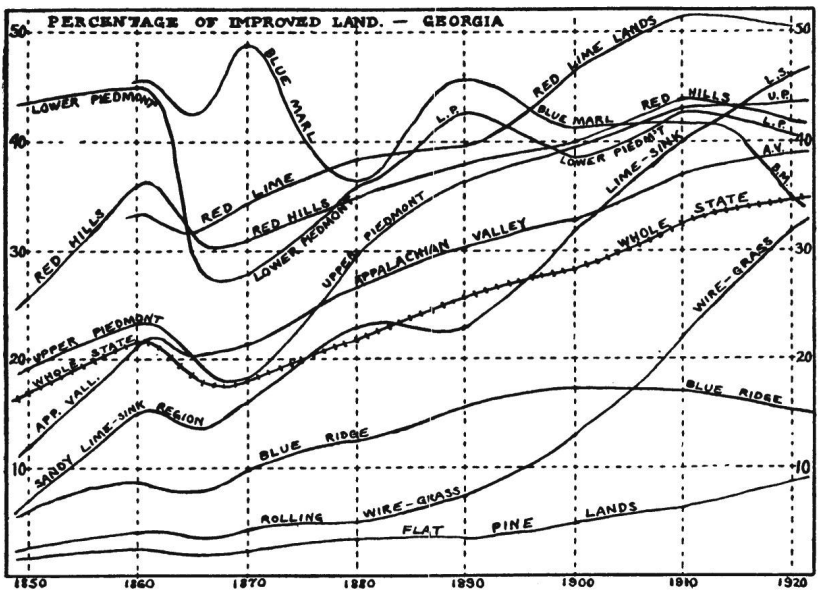
TABLE 7

ACREAGE AND PRODUCTION OF LEADING CROPS IN LOWER GEORGIA, 1919.

	Sand hills	Blue marl	Red hills	Red lime lands	Sandy lime-sink	Rolling wire-grass	Hammock belt	Flat pine lands	Coast strip
Pct. of improved land in:									
Cotton	36.0	21.4	31.7	32.8	32.5	31.6	14.9	10.4	*6.1*
Corn	35.6	*28.3*	32.8	29.7	36.4	39.5	38.0	43.1	30.7
Oats	1.17	1.16	*0.98*	2.15	1.37	2.43	3.46	2.29	0.65
Cowpeas	5.8	4.2	3.0	0.4	0.4	0.2	*0.1*	0.4	0.6
Peanuts	0.2	3.9	1.5	6.6	6.7	1.5	4.4	0.7	*0.2*
Sweet Potatoes	0.6	0.5	0.5	*0.5*	0.7	1.2	1.7	3.1	4.5
Sorghum (for syrup)	0.3	0.2	0.12	.04	.05	.07	.04	.11	*0*
Sugar-cane	0.2	*0.1*	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.6	1.7	1.2	1.0
Yield per acre.									
Cotton (bales)	.30	*.17*	.31	.24	.24	.24	.24	.22	.27
Corn (bushels)	10.9	*9.2*	10.0	10.5	11.1	11.7	12.6	11.6	15.2
Oats (bushels)	13.7	17.4	13.9	14.0	14.7	15.5	15.4	*12.3*	18.9
Cowpeas (bushels)	*2.8*	3.8	3.0	5.8	3.5	5.6	9.2	5.5	10.0
Peanuts (bushels)	19.9	20.0	20.0	*13.6*	18.6	20.0	22.1	21.6	20.9
Sweet Potatoes (bu.)	109	80	94	*76*	94	88	89	100	118
Sorghum (gals. syrup)	*35*	49	51	58	52	57	74	49	.....
Sugar-cane (gals.)	*101*	129	114	136	168	158	269	214	146

yield still more; this being doubtless due mostly to the boll-weevil. Other crops, especially peanuts, increased proportionately. The yield of corn fell off a little too in most regions, and that may have been due either to different weather conditions in the two census years or to shortage of fertilizers. The yield of the other crops for 1909 has not been computed, so direct comparisons cannot be made at this time. The highest yields of most crops, even cotton, which is raised very little there, are in the coast strip, on account of the intensive farming prevailing there, and not because of any natural superiority of soil.

In this article and the preceding ones little or nothing has been said about certain crops which are very important in some sections, such as hay, apples, peaches, watermelons, pecans, cabbage, tomatoes, and tobacco, partly for lack of



Graph showing ratio of improved farm land to total area, in percentages, for ten regions in Georgia and the whole State, from 1850 to 1920. The sand-hills, hammock belt and coast strip are omitted because they are so much narrower than the counties traversed by them that the figures are not accurate. The curve for the blue marl region seems abnormally high in 1870 and may indicate some undetected error in the census returns, and that for the lime-sink region may be too high in 1880 or too low in 1890, for a similar reason.

time, and partly because of census gives no information about the acreage of some of these crops, or the value of others.

SUMMARY

The salient features of each region and the prevailing conditions in each decade having been sketched in these four articles, it will now be appropriate to sum up the 26 tables with their over 3800 ratios, and review in a more general way the principal changes in agricultural conditions in the whole state in the 70-year period covered. Some of the changes have been shared by the whole civilized world, while others have been more or less peculiar to the southeastern United States or to certain regions[1].

First there will be presented a graph showing the changes in the percentage of improved land in each region for which the statistics can be depended on. In ante-bellum days (after the pioneer period of cutting away the virgin forests), and probably up to about 1880, the percentage of improved land was a very good indicator of soil fertility, though the Civil War caused a decline in most regions, which is easily understood, and the utilization of land in the mountainous portions of the state was hindered some by the topography. Some of the ups and downs of the curves may be due to faulty census figures, but it is pretty evident that the Lower Piedmont, blue marl, red hills, and red lime lands are the most fertile regions in the state on the whole. Just before the Civil War most of the farming in Georgia was confined to them.

About 1880 the influence of commercial fertilizers began to be felt, and the improved land curves took an upward turn in regions formerly regarded as almost unfit for farming, especially the wire-grass, and to a lesser extent the somewhat more fertile lime-sink region adjoining. The improved land in the wire-grass more than doubled between 1900 and 1920, and millions of acres of beautiful park-

1. At this point the reader would do well to refer again to Dr. R. P. Brook's "Agrarian Revolution in Georgia," cited in the first article in this series, for it discusses some of the developments between 1865 and 1912 in more detail than there is room for here.

like long-leaf pine forests which stood in that and the lime-sink region when the writer first explored them in 1900 have been destroyed by the greedy farmers and replaced by a dreary wilderness of stumpy fields, so that that part of the state is now a much less desirable place of residence for any one who cares anything for the beauties of nature. (What the farmers have gained, if anything, will be discussed a little farther on.) In some places the lumbermen went ahead of the farmers and left desolate cut-over lands, which however still retained their interesting herbaceous vegetation, and reproduced the pine again if given half a chance; elsewhere the farmers took possession first, girdled the trees without taking the trouble to cut them down, and left their gaunt skeletons standing in the fields.

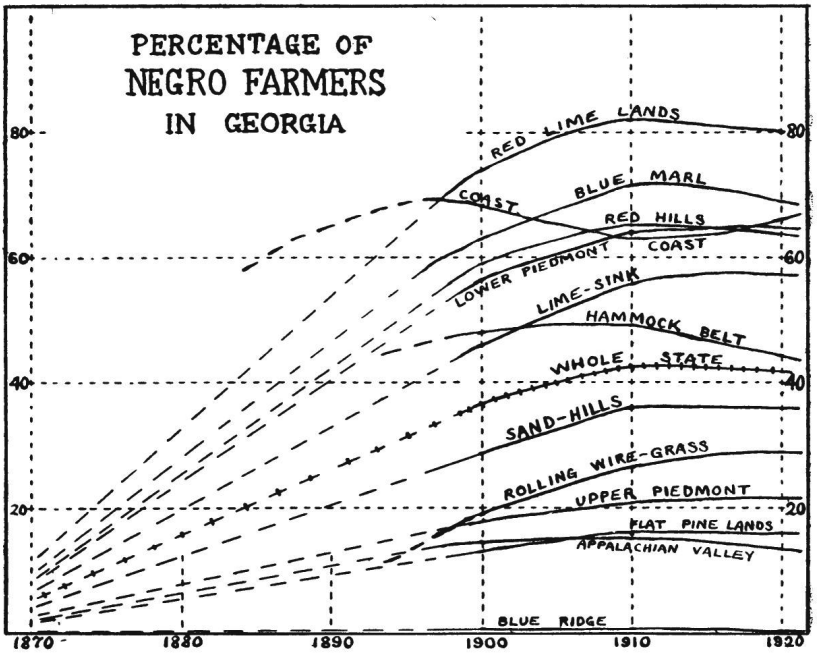
The wire-grass country showed a remarkable increase of about 50% in improved land between 1910 and 1920, in spite of the war and an increase of only 20% in population, and it would seem that the farmers there were trying to make up for a reduced yield per acre by cultivating more acres with more machinery, though the decline of forest industries may also have been a factor. But it is likely that the usual tendency of increasing intensity of farming will be under way again before the next census.

The great increase of farms and population in the sandy parts of the South with the aid of commercial fertilizers since the Civil War is one of the most interesting economic developments of modern times, and it must have had a great deal to do with "putting the South in the saddle" in national affairs a few years ago. (Georgia now has a denser population than Iowa, which has much more fertile soil and about twice as large a proportion of improved land[1].)

The next graph illustrates the percentage of negro farm operators by regions, at different times. Definite figures are available only for 1900, 1910 and 1920, but it is assumed that there were practically no negro farmers before

1. For a discussion of the extension of agriculture and increase of population in the pine-barrens of the southern coastal plain since 1880 see Journal of Geography 15:42-48, Oct. 1916.

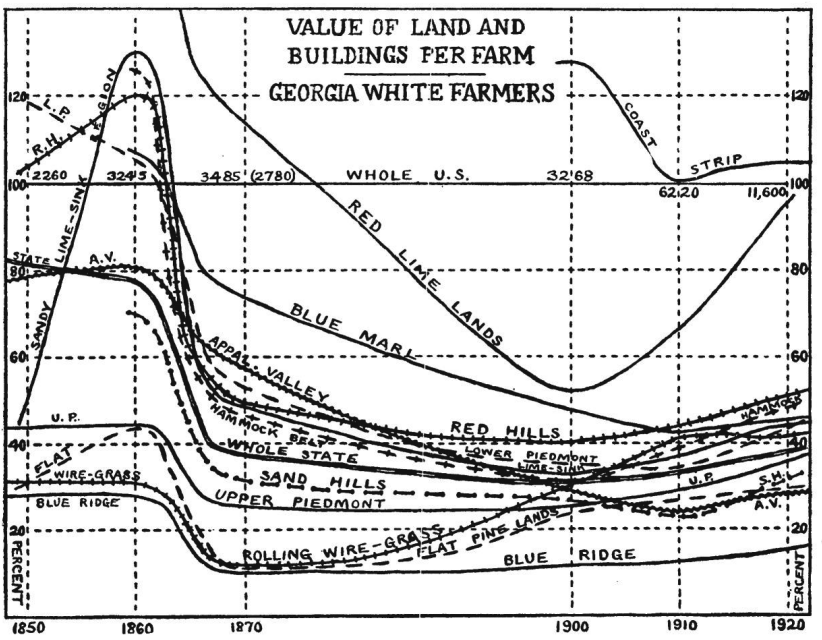
the Civil War, and that the proportions increased steadily from the end of the war up to 1900, except in the coast strip, where the statistics seem to indicate that there were a considerable number of negro farmers even in 1870, and in one or two other regions where somewhat similar conditions may have prevailed. The percentage increased in nearly every region between 1900 and 1910, and might have increased a little more by 1920, if it had not been for the World War, which checked the negro population in the South as previously explained.



Graph showing percentage of the farms in each region in Georgia, and the whole state, operated by negroes, from 1900 to 1920, with hypothetical extensions of the curves a few decades farther back. (It is assumed that the percentage was zero, or very small, in every region up to 1865.)

Generally speaking, negro farmers are most numerous in the more fertile regions, though their numbers are restricted in the two northernmost regions (and everywhere farther north) by the climate, which is not favorable for cotton growing.

The third graph illustrates the changes in standards of living of the average white farmer in each region since 1850, as indicated by the value of land and buildings per farm, which seems to be the best measure available. On account of the fluctuations of prices, especially in the last two decades, if the values were taken literally the results would be very misleading. So it has been assumed that the standards of the average white farmer in the whole United States have remained constant, and the values for the several regions at each census have been expressed as percentages of the U. S. average. The actual number of dollars involved is written close to the U. S. or 100% line, including both paper and gold values for 1870, when gold was at a premium of about 25%. As a matter of fact there was probably a decline in the average United States stand-



Graph showing value per farm of land and buildings of white farmers in each region from 1850 to 1920, expressed in percentages of the United States white average, to eliminate variations in the purchasing power of the dollar as far as possible. (The numbers along the 100% line are the U. S. white values in dollars.) Certain limitations to the accuracy of the curves are explained in the text.

ards of living between 1860 and 1870, on account of the Civil War, and a smaller one between 1910 and 1920, and an upward trend at other times, so that if we had correct data the curves would be steeper in some places and flatter in others.

As previously explained, practically all farmers were white in 1850 and 1860, and in 1870 the percentage of negro farmers must have been almost negligible except in the coast strip and perhaps one or two other regions. Separate figures for white and colored farmers for areas smaller than states are available only for 1910, but the 1900 and 1920 values have been approximated by assuming that the ratio of white to total farm values in those years was the same as in 1910, except for making a little allowance for known changes in the percentage of negro farmers. It would not be safe to make estimates for 1880 and 1890 in that way, though, for the number of negro farmers in those years is entirely unknown.

The 1850 values are taken from the tables already published, which leave out three of the regions on account of the counties in which they are chiefly situated being too large at that time. The 1860 value for the whole state is also based on the census figures, but those for the several regons have been scaled down about 10%, on account of the number of farms returned by counties being evidently too low, as explained in the March number. Some of the 1870 points have been raised a little to allow for the possible inclusion of a few negro farmers in the returns, but the values for whites in the coast strip at that time must be regarded as wholly indeterminate.

The 1850 and 1860 values for the red lime lands and coast strip are so high that they could not be shown on the graph without making it considerably taller, or using such a small scale that some of the curves toward the bottom would be too close together. The omitted values can be seen in the tables in the June number.

This graph brings out plainly what has already been stated about the regions that have the most negro farmers

generally having the most prosperous whites. The decline in standards of living in every region during the Civil War period is easily understood, but the further decline of several regions between 1870 and 1900 and the rise of most of them (relatively to the whole United States) since 1900 are not so easily explained. Standards of living are not as closely controlled by environment as many people believe, but are more or less spontaneous or accidental. Migration of farmers from one region to another with higher or lower standards might have a marked influence, but the census gives no adequate information about such movements within states. The rapid rise in the red lime lands curve since 1900 may possibly be correlated with the discovery of the cause of malaria in that year.

The white farmers of the coast strip seem to have always been above the United States average, and those of the red lime lands, although apparently below the national average since the 70's, if the calculations are correct, are now more prosperous than the average for any state within 300 miles of the coast from Maine t oTexas.

An interesting application of this graph is that most of the noted personages born in Georgia seem to have come from those regions whose rural standards of living were above the state average in ante-bellum days. And comparisons of the same kind between different states show very similar relations.

The census did not give the acreage of different crops until 1880, so that accurate comparisons of crop yields are possible only for about forty years past; but it is safe to assume that the extensive farming of slavery days generally produced even lower yields per acre than in 1880. When we compare two periods only ten years apart we cannot be sure that differences in crop yields are not due to weather conditions or something of the sort; but if we find a progressive rise or decline running through several census periods we are reasonably safe in taking that for a general tendency.

In the state as a whole the average yield of cotton per acre rose from .312 bale in 1879 to .408 in 1909, then dropped as a result of boll-weevil conditions to .356 in 1919. Corn went from 9.2 bushels per acre in 1879 to 12.1 in 1919, oats from 9.04 to 14.7 in the same period, wheat from 6.64 to 7.73, peanuts from 12 bushels in 1889 (when first enumerated) to 18.9 in 1919 (a gain of over 50% in 30 years), sweet potatoes from 72.2 bushels in 1879 to 92.1 in 1919, sugar-cane syrup from 103.8 gallons in 1879 to 170 in 1919, and so on. All these increased yields were doubtless due not only to more careful cultivation but also to the work of the plant breeders in developing more prolific varieties, and more progress in that line may be expected in the future, though of course it cannot go on indefinitely.

Close comparisons of the number of animals per square mile or per farm at different periods are not possible, because the earlier agricultural censuses seem not to have counted calves, colts, lambs, shoats, etc., at all, and that of 1920, having been taken in January, of course found the number of young animals at a minimum. But bearing these limitations in mind, it is pretty evident that the number of cattle and sheep in Georgia, especially the latter, has declined with the passing of the free range. One occasionally sees arguments for the revival of sheep raising, but pasture sheep do not seem to go very well with the intensive farming that seems likely to prevail in Georgia a few decades hence[1], and the same may be true of beef cattle. Dairy cattle are likely to increase with the growth of cities, unless it is found more profitable to import milk and butter from northern dairying centers and specialize on products better suited to our climate. Work oxen seem to have almost gone out of style, and the last three censuses have not enumerated them. The number of hogs has increased since 1870, but not quite as much as the population. Although more meat is imported into Georgia than was the

1. England is a great sheep country, but conditions there are exceptional in many respects.

case say fifty years ago, the cattle rangers of the West are giving way to crops too, with the result that the population of the whole United States is becoming more vegetarian in its diet; and we may ultimately approach the condition of China and Japan, where there are hardly any beef animals and not very many hogs but plenty of chickens, which take up very little room and go well with intensive farming.

Horses have declined pretty steadily since 1850 and mules increased correspondingly. In 1850 Georgia had nearly three times as many horses as mules, and in 1920 four times as many mules as horses. Part of this change is due to the passing of the free range, but that does not explain everything, for horses still outnumber mules in the North and West. In the last ten or fifteen years the automobile has displaced many horses, especially in cities (but no more in the South than elsewhere), which had the curious effect of keeping the price of horses nearly stationary through the recent war period, when nearly everything else went up.

Animals of all sorts decreased during the Civil War decade, especially beef cattle and hogs, which were less than half as numerous in Georgia in 1870 as in 1860, having been eaten up during the war and not replaced very promptly. The World War had very little effect of that kind in this country.

It is now pertinent to inquire what the farmers have done for themselves in these seventy years. Boosters can point with pride to the constantly increasing number of farms, cultivated acres, bales of cotton, bushels of corn, value of farm property and products, etc., but much of this progress is more apparent than real, especially in the last particular, values, for the purchasing power of the dollar declined continually from 1897 to 1920, making all prices higher[1].

1. A typical example of thoughtless optimism (if that is the proper term for it) is the widely circulated "Blue-Book of Southern Progress," published by the Manufacturers' Record (Baltimore) last spring. It is full of statements about the values of property, products, ect., in the South (including Maryland, West Vir-

In ante-bellum days the average Georgia plantation probably fed and clothed only about one-tenth more people than the number living on it. Cotton and some foodstuffs were sent to market in exchange for what few manufactured articles and delicacies could not be easily produced at home, and the number of merchants, manufacturers, carriers, public officials, etc., probably did not exceed 10% of the adult population. At the present time about half the goods the farmer consumes come from cities or distant states or countries, and there are more people in cities than on farms)in the whole United States at least[1]), so that the average farmer may be said to be feeding and clothing at least one family besides his own; which is made possible by increased crop yields, improved machinery and transportation facilities, etc., and incidentally smaller families.

In recent decades there have been developed all sorts of schemes and devices, unheard of in ante-bellum times ostensibly for the benefit of the farmers. For example, more prolific varieties of crops, cheaper fertilizers, improved machinery, good roads, telephones, rural free delivery, automobiles, plans for diversification and co-operative marketing, tick eradication, better rural schools, county farm demonstration agents, government bulletins, experiment stations,soil surveys, boys' corn and pig clubs, farmers' organizations, and farm loans. A person who read the agricultural bulletins and papers carefully but never got out among the farmers might think all this would make the modern farmer's life a perpetual picnic, as compared with conditions a generation or two ago.

ginia, Kentucky, and other border states which are far from typical of the South) in 1920 being more than those of the whole United States in 1880, etc. The figures are taken from reliable sources, but the author carefully avoids mentioning the fact the dollar of 1920 was worth only about half as much as that of 1880 (and one- third that of 1900), which destroys the value of many of his comparisons. If the purchasing power of the dollar should continue to increase in the next several years as it has in the last two (which may not happen), and the same concern should hereafter undertake to show the progress of the South from 1920 to 1930, some other measure than money will have to be used or allowance made for its fluctuations in value.

1. The census of 1920 found only 29.9% of the population of the United States, and 58.2% of that of Georgia, living on farms.

But (strange to say?) most of our farmers still live from hand to mouth, as they have done ever since the Civil War, and whenever there is a slight crop shortage, or a surplus that brings down prices, or a financial panic, cries of distress are heard on every hand, and "experts" and lawmakers get together and try to make the farmers believe that something is going to be done immediately for their relief. Generally speaking, farmers let the benefits of all such agencies as are listed in the preceding paragraph slip through their fingers and pass on to the consumer, and even the consumers have not benefited much as individuals, but have simply become more numerous. While the farmers are undoubtedly more efficient than they used to be, they do not seem to be raising their standards of living much.

The graph a few pages back shows that the average white farmer in Georgia today is poorer than he was in ante-bellum days, and at just about the same level as in the reconstruction period; but most of the regions have been on the up-grade for the last twenty years at least, and some of course have done considerably better than the state average. Separate statistics for negro farmers have not been available long enough yet to show whether they are progressing or not.

In spite of the persistent efforts of many well-meaning but uncomprehending city people to "uplift" the rural population, there seems to be no escape from the fundamental principle that in any state or region *the average farmer,* of any race or nationality, *in the long run* (but not necessarily every farmer every year) *gets out of his farm* or any part thereof *just what he spends on it, plus the value of his time;* regardless of soil, climate, the kind of crops or animals raised, the market price thereof, weeds, insects and other pests, good or bad roads, distance from markets, tenure, taxes, tariffs, the form of government, legislation, loan sys-

tems, or any other factor that does not change much from year to year[1].

In the above statement of fundamental principles most of the factors are relatively fixed for any one locality, but the value of the farmer's time is somewhat elastic. An intelligent farmer naturally gets a higher return for his labor or supervision than an ignorant one; but when all the farmers become more efficient the benefits are likely to be passed right on to the consumer as above stated. An adequate return for the farmer's time is commonly fixed by the customs and standards prevailing in his community; and if all or nearly all the farmers who produce a given crop could agree that they would not sell it except at a price that would bring them ample remuneration for their efforts they could practically dictate their own terms and raise their standards of living to any reasonable point. Organized laborers have already accomplished much in that line, (at the expense of nearly everybody else), but it would be rather difficult to bring about such unanimity among such a large and heterogeneous class as the farmers. If it could be accomplished though it would do the farmers more good than all the efficiency devices above mentioned, and the consumers would probably be just as well off as they are now, after they became accustomed to the new order of things.

As for the future, about all that can be confidently predicted for the next few decades is that inventions and discoveries tending to increase the efficiency of farming will continue to be made, thus enabling the farmers to support more and more city people; and as the population increases

1. It is assumed that most farmers in a given region are so nearly adjusted to their environment that they do not waste time trying to raise crops wholly unsuited to the locality, or in other unprofitable efforts. But even if a farmer was completely adjusted, the environment is liable to change at any time, by the arrival of a new kind of bug, a change in the tax rate or assessment, the building of a new road or railroad, or something of the kind, so that the future is always a little uncertain. And another important point is that farmers differing widely in efficiency and standards of living may dwell in the same community at the same time, just as trees, shrubs and herbs of many species may grow side by side in the same soil. In every community there are some far above the average, who are always prosperous, and many below the average, but the average itself is not easily changed.

land will become more valuable and farming more intensive, though not an equal rate everywhere[1].

It is also likely that the farms and cities will continue to encroach on the forests, the number of tenants will increase, and the number of horses, beef cattle, sheep and perhaps hogs per capita will decline.

If there is anything in evolution the farmers in Georgia and elsewhere ought to gradually better their condition, as long as wars and other calamities do not interfere, but this process will hardly keep pace with the increase of population and total wealth, in spite of any efforts that may be made to "speed it up."

1. At the present time about one-tenth of the inhabitants of the United States (including a good many in Georgia) are living in counties whose population has been practically at a standstill for 25 years or more; and most such counties are characterized by rather high rural standards of living, so that the inhabitants thereof ought not to worry about their failure to increase.

HOWELL COBB PAPERS

Edited by
R. P. BROOKS, Ph. D.,
University of Georgia.

LEVI K. BOWEN TO HOWELL COBB

Washington, [D. C.,] Jan. 3, 1861.[1]

My dear Sir:

We have not succeeded in bringing the Governor of our state[2] to his duty and he will not convene the Legislature. In a few days the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House will I think issue the call.

The Administration has today assumed a position which in my opinion will cut the Gordian knot and hastily attract all the Southern states in a common cause. The President is determined to retain Anderson at Fort Sumter and endeavor to collect the revenue. This will be likely to lead to blows and the Southern states, yet hesitating, will in consequence rally to action. But all the news I could give you will be anticipated before this could reach you.

Our state, as I have regarded from the first, is really the key to the whole movement of the South. If she could be got to move promptly, accept the fact as it exists, that the Union is really now dissolved, and declare herself out of it, and take the lead for a Southern Republic at once, this whole difficulty could be peaceably solved. The North would never wage war against a united South. But if the 4th. of March arrives and the North gets possession of this capital, and inaugurates Lincoln, only part of the South being out, you may rest assured the whole power of the Government will be used to subjugate the states which are out. Then we

1. Erroneously dated 1860 in original.
2. Maryland

should and would join hands, but only after a war is commenced the end of which could not be foretold. The only way to avoid war, just as sure as God rules over us, is for the whole South to be joined in a new confederacy before the 4th. of March.

The great necessity in our state is just that which was required in our last election, bold leaders who would rally our people to the cause. The state could be put in the position it should occupy in 30 days, with far less labor and cost than carried it for Breckenridge. Our party is nearly a unit, many of the Bell party are with us, but as yet there is no daring spirit to lead us to the work.

You will ask why I do not move perhaps, and I am sorrowful to answer, that I do not and cannot. My whole heart and soul is with you as you know and a far more popular and easy task it would be to rouse up our people to the work than that I had to perform before the election. But I am forced now to listen to the call of duty put up by my family and abjuring all public affairs prepare for private business, because politics has impoverished me. In 1853 I was forced to sell my estate and home to meet reverses I suffered in consequence of my efforts for Mr. Buchanan in 1852. During the last four years as you know I have had to brave the work and bear the expenses mainly of all our contests in Md. and this leaves me in heavy debt. In consequence of my loss of hearing from a throat affection contracted in Pa. in 1856, I cannot pursue my profession and turning to some other calling I am looking to a location in New York in March. Could I have got settled an old claim against the P. O. Department which Black has pronounced sound and I expected, amounting to some $31,000 I could remain in Md. but things are such now I have no home in that quarter. Indeed to be frank I am not sure who are my friends any more.

You will perhaps wonder and not care to relish all this selfish narration but I have made it because I could not suffer you to misunderstand my inaction. The entreaties of my family and sense of duty drive me from all public affairs.

To all your movements I bid God's speed. The south is only doing now what the irrevocable laws of nature and necessity compel her to do and what can be much better accomplished than when a fanatical and dictatorial majority shall have grown stronger and more arrogant.

A. G. MAGRATH TO HOWELL COBB.

Charleston, S. C., Jan. 18, 1861.

My dear Sir:

Your despatch has just been received. A letter of mine to Col. Orr which he will show, and the enclosure it contains, will show you our present position. The failure of a consignment in reaching us, made it necessary, with all convenient certainty, to be assured to what extent, we could be relieved, if a pressing occasion should arise. Hence the telegram to you. Thank you for your offer to assist us. We shall not diminish your stock unless something unexpected should suddenly occur. If it does not, in the course of a little time we will be relieved.

Your despatch of the adoption of the secession resolutions was highly gratifying. And the announcement you make of the passage of the ordinance tomorrow, creates for all, the source of earnest congratulation. The Southern states will owe you much for your counsel and aid in saving them from the fate which awaited them; and I have no doubt their sense will be evinced in a manner gratifying to you and honorable to them. Upon the outpost which this state for the present maintains, other interests beside hers, are also involved. I shall be glad therefore to hear and profit by your suggestions, whenever you have leisure to write, and this I beg you to receive, as communicated with great sincerity.

S. T. BAILEY TO HOWELL COBB

Macon, [Ga.,] 4 May, 1861.

Dear Sir:

Excuse me if I seem too forward in offering advice. My anxiety for the safety and success of our country is my only

apology. I fear the government does not realize that this is a war of *conquest* and not so much by the Lincoln government as the Northern masses and if their leaders were to even talk of peace they would be hurled from power. The trial of strength then between the two sections is inevitable. It is a *death struggle* depend upon it! and its length will very much depend upon the vigor with which we deal our first blows. We must lose *no first battles;* it will throw a damper upon our friends and add countless thousands to their foes, and years of blood and carnage to the war. They believe our subjugation not only practicable but easy. Let us stun them so by our first blows that they will early learn it will cost much more than they calculated, besides opening up to their view a prospect of some danger of an invasion of their homes.

Our excellent president Davis is not quite up to the mark. He should call for half a million soldiers and he could have them mustered in three weeks. But let our men be defeated or let them rot in camp while the enemy martials his hosts and tramples down our friends in Maryland and elsewhere and until the spring and summer pass away and the wet and inclement weather of fall and winter return, we shall be ruined, our people will be discouraged and the North will pour down her millions upon us, for then their farmers and laborers will be at leisure and will constitute an army of very different material from that composed of the *scum* of the cities as will be the case at first. For God's sake let us strike them effectually before they send that dangerous material against us! Let us convince them that there can be nothing made by fighting us. Washington City must be taken and the Vandals driven out of Maryland—that is part of our territory and it is disgraceful for the South to look on and see our friends there trampled under the feet of a vile host of Abolitionists and foreign vagabonds when if we would try we can protect them. We have not force enough at Norfolk. They are resolved to recapture that important point when their forces are concentrated cost what it may and with a skillful leader they can easily do it in spite of double the

force we have there. Our friends seem to forget that every one of their boasted Batteries can be turned by a large land force under a skillful leader and what is to hinder such a force being landed anywhere above or below? We ought also to remember that the fidelity of our colored population depends upon our success in effectually defending our soil. Let us falter or fail and our present security will be at an end. Northern abolition emissaries and spies are all over the South in advance of their invading army and throughout the South the Blacks are already informed of the object of that invasion. I know that whereof I affirm. Is anybody so blind as to feel sure that a vast majority of the slaves would not with avidity escape from bondage if they felt there was a power near to secure them that Boon? The Vandals must not on every account either keep or acquire a foothold in the South and to prevent it and keep the Carthagenians out of Italy we must carry the war into Africa. "Delenda est Washington" and northern forts beyond must be the Roman cry before Rome can hope for peace. . . . . .

HOWELL COBB[1] TO HIS WIFE

Camp Cobb, Richmond Va., Sept. 7, 1861.

My dear Wife:

This is my birthday and I cannot let it pass without communing with you by letter which is our only privilege at this time. It is a warm but bright day. God grant that it may be auspicious of the great future that lies before us. Since I last wrote to you I have had a busy and an anxious time. My new and varied duties have made my camp life a routine of constant labor and occupation. All of it is borne, I trust with Christian patience, until sickness and death throw their gloom over all around me. Like all the other regiments in Virginia we are passing through a trying ordeal. Already we have buried twelve of our men and I fear that before many hours we will be called to follow

1. At the time Cobb was a Colonel in Command of the 16th Ga. Reg. of Inf.

others to their last resting place. All else I can meet and endure, but to see my men falling around me by the hand of disease, and I am powerless to protect them, it wrings my very heart. I try to lean upon the arm of Him alone who holds our destiny in His hand and in the sincerity of my heart I pray that He would stay the hand of the destroyer. Duty requires me to enforce discipline and often to do for the good of the men what they feel and believe is only an arbitrary exercise of power. How little do they know of what is going on in my mind and heart, when they indulge in such complaint. I visit them daily to cheer them up and often with a bleeding heart I smooth their foreheads with my hand, and with some gentle pleasantry try to drive away the despondency which the death of their comrades has brought upon them. But you know that at best I am but a poor comforter in a sick room and all that I can do adds but little to their relief. My chaplain, Mr. Flynn is a most excellent man and in his quiet and unobtrusive way, spends his hours in visiting and comforting our sick. . . . . .

JOHN B. LAMAR TO HOWELL COBB.

Macon, Ga., Nov. 3, 1861.

Dear Gov[ernor]:

. . . . We make plenty of bread and meat for another year, and as our supplies of salt, bagging, rope, negro clothes, shoes, etc., were all laid in for cash last spring, at the ruling prices at that time, we can laugh at the blockade for a while if salt is $12 per sack. (Ours cost $1.25 which in 200 bushels I laid in makes the slight difference between $250 and $2400 and all the above named supplies in the same proportion).

But how it will be another year if the blockade is not raised makes me hold my breath when I think of it. I have some wool and next May's clip will add some to it, making in all probably 800 lbs. or more which will make about half our negro cloth. Shoes I can get at some price I expect. As to bagging, rope and twine, we can do without, by pack-

ing seed cotton away in pens and letting it lay until the English send us bagging. But salt we must have or starve. I suppose enough will be made on the long line of our coast during the year. . . . . .

JOHN A. COBB TO HOWELL COBB.

Macon, Ga., Dec. 20th, 1862.

Dear Father:

I returned here last night from S. W. Ga. I never heard until last Wednesday of the death of Uncle Tom[1]. I was very sorry to hear it, it is a hard blow on our family more so on his wife and children. I don' t know what they will do.

I went down to Sumter a few days after you left here. I got $5019. and some cents from Sparks, proceeds of Hurricane[2] cotton and the balance from the sale of corn in Americus, and paid Jackson the first payment on the land $6783.33 and give him two notes each for the same amount one and two years with interest from date if not punctually paid at maturity, and took his bond for titles. I asked him if he would deduct the interest if the notes were paid before due, but he could not tell as the notes belong to children and he is not their guardian, he said he would find out and let me know. I signed your name to the notes by me with which he is satisfied. Scrutchins has moved to Worth and our negroes have moved to Sumter. I went down and attended to the measuring of the corn, he had 4780 bushels. I gave hime the same in Worth. We only had about five hundred bushels to sell in Worth. I had engaged 1000 and the agent held me to my contract and I have left orders for the other five hundred to be delivered at Americus, which will close up the corn business. There was about 30,000 lbs. of fodder. I have not had a settlement yet, but will have it in January. The fattening hogs will be driven up from Worth this week, which will be the

1. Brigadier General T. R. R. Cobb was killed at Fredericksburg Dec. 13, 1862.
2. One of the Cobb plantations.

last thing we will have to move. There is one hundred and thirty stock hogs on the Scrutchins place, which is more than I expected, so we will not have many to take from the Barwick place to supply them.

They have killed hogs on the Barwick, McBride and Mount place, if Brantly has killed it was after I went to Worth they have had fine weather on their meat.

I saw Brantly's fattening hogs this last trip, they are the smallest he has ever had since I have been going to the places. I don't think they will average much over 150 lbs, he will have to keep them until late to make them go much over that. I think the old fellow is so much ashamed of the looks of his hogs compared with the others that he will do better next year. All the Sumter[1] negroes have been vacinated and Dr. Barrow will vacinate the Worth negroes tomorrow, The Bibb negroes were vacinated before I left. I have not yet heard from Baldwin. I am going over there on Monday to send the negroes I am going to move to Sumter.[2] I will take two mules from the Hurricane. There will be five grown hands and some children in the lot that I will move. I am going to send them down in a wagon and make Henry go with them, drive six mules down leave two and let the four bring back the empty wagon. I send them this way on account of the smallpox; there is too much risk in sending them on the cars. All the negroes have returned from Savannah, no clothes has been given to them, and I don't know what I will do for Kerseys cannot be had now.

Some of them came back with the measles, which I am afraid will spread over all the places. I told all the overseers to give the negroes only three days Christmas and to keep them on the plantation.

Jenny has had a fine Cobb horse colt,—bay.

The corn that we sold in Athens I could not deliver, as the Railroad will not receive anything but government

1. One of the Cobb plantations.

2. Sumter, Worth, Bibb and Baldwin are names of counties in which the Cobbs owned plantations.

freight. I will see Mr. Hull and the others when I go to Athens. I had made all my arrangements to have it delivered at once, but when the R. R. agent refused to receive it, I could do nothing, and as the time is nearly passed when we could haul it will be impossible to deliver it before next summer, unless they will pay for hauling. There is a man who wants to get a contract to haul our corn to Americus, but about that and other things I will tell you when I see you.

I will be in Athens next Wednesday, and remain during Christmas.

Col. Browne told me when here that Judge Jas. Jackson had been appointed military Judge for Ga. H. R. Jackson would be made Brigadier General soon and that Howell would be appointed cadet on his (Col. Bs) return to Richmond.

WILLIAM M. BROWNE TO HOWELL COBB

Richmond, Va., Jan. 21, 1863.

My dear General:

I have much pleasure in informing you that I have been entirely successful in negotiating your maters with the Sec. of War, and that too without any unnecessary delay. I hope that the arrangement will be satisfactory to you and that you will have full success. While you have the men allow me to advise you to be present in Ga., as much as possible and not leave the matter estirely to recruiting officers. Vast injury to the prompt execution of the Conscript law has been done by the indiscreet appeals for volunteers of recruiting officers who ask men to volunteer to escape the disgrace of conscription and thus aid in making the law odious. The law has almost failed in Ga., owing in a great measure to the utter imbecility of those appointed to administer it, and if we do not get the men by spring our position will be more than critical. There is no Ga. Regt. in the army of N. Va. that has upwards of 500 rank and file for duty and many have not half that number. Bad designing men in

Crawfordsville,[1] in Hancock Co., and elsewhere are doing all they can to bring Joe Brown into open rebellion; we therefore need the energy, sense and popularity of men like yourself to counteract their efforts and make the people act as Georgians ought to act in such a crisis. . . . . .

JOHN A. COBB TO MRS. HOWELL COBB.

Macon, Ga., March 9th, 1863.

Dear Mother:

I arrived here last night from Sumter. I spent several days with father in Florida and left all well.[2]

I have delivered the meat to the Government at 35¢. I have not been paid yet. I could have got the money this morning, but as there is a prospect of getting the 50¢ I concluded to let the acct. stand open for a week, as the Agt. told me by that time he would be authorized to pay the 50¢ per pound. I delivered 23870 lbs. Father was perfectly satisfied with the price and did not think the Government ought to pay any more.

JENNY LAMAR[3] TO MRS. HOWELL COBB

Milledgeville, Ga., 1863.

My dear Missis:

I write to let you know I have not forgoten you and if you please mam send your old servant some sugar and coffee and give my love to all the children. I am so disable to come. I send these few lines by Warren. Please send wat you can spare by him to me and you will oblige me for I do love my coffee. Give my love to all my collord friends in the yard and receive the greates portions for yourself.

So farwell till I her from you, I remain your mammy.

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1. Sumter, Worth, Bibb and Baldwin are names of Georgia counties in which the Cobbs owned plantations.
2. General Cobb was then in command of a military district in Florida.
3. A slave of Mrs. Cobb's.

HOWELL COBB TO JOHN A. COBB.

Quincy, Fla., March 25th, 1863.

My dear Son:

I received your letter by yesterday's mail. The sad intelligence it communicated had already reached me through the telegraph and letter of your Uncle William. It was a sudden shock and my heart sunk under the blow. I know that my dear boy is happy and his sainted spirit calls for no grief, yet it is hard to be reconciled to the idea that I shall see him no more in this world.[1] May God in his infinite Goodness, grant us all a happy family reunion in that happy home to which he has gone.

My great anxiety and distress now is about your mother. She is never out of my mind. Tom was the pride of her heart, as the youngest child always is the dearest to a mother's heart. She will be supported, I know full well, in her severe trial, by that true christian faith and piety, which has in her a bright orament, and a worthy example, my dear son, for all of us. Her life and conduct in my eye has been the most effective teaching to my own wayward heart. With all this, she will still suffer much, her health is not good, and this severe affliction is almost too much for her. She will require all the kindness and attention that her children can afford and I know that their kind hearts will readily respond. God will give relief to her aching heart and restore cheerfulness to her gloomy spirit, for it is not his will that we should go through life with a sorrowing shade over our pathway. I want to hear not only that she is well in health, but cheerful in spirit. . . . . ..

JAMES A. SEDDON[2] TO HOWELL COBB

Richmond Va., May 5th, 1863.

General:

. . . And now, my dear Sir, will you pardon me for directly

1. The reference is to the death of Cobb's infant son Thomas R. R. Cobb.
2. Confederate Secretary of War.

applying to you on a matter which I have felt to be of such delicacy, that I had requested our friend Hunter to intimate an inquiry on it, but which I understand a day or two since on the eve of his departure from the City he had omitted to do. You are aware that the late Congress required by law the two Q. M. Gen. to be a Brigadier General and it would be agreeable to the president, and most gratifying to me if you would consent to accept that position. In no spirit of false modesty, but with sincere feeling of your claims and capacity, as well as your past distinctions and reputation, I feel almost ashamed to ask you to accept any position less than the first in the Department, but I know your whole heart and mind are devoted to our great cause, and believe that you would consider the post of most usefulness that of greatest honor. A Quarter Master of high capacity, energy and administrative mind would be of invaluable service to the Government, and this may be said without any undue disparagement of Col. Myers who is a very good Bureau officer and a very pleasant official to deal with. With you however in this most important of all administrative branches of the Department, I should have a far fuller assurance of efficiency and success. Will you consider this matter, if deemed worthy of your thought, seriously and if unfavorably hold it as confidential, but if otherwise, let me know your determination at your earliest convenience. You will not I am sure, misunderstand this proposition as implying any disparagement of your high usefulness in the field, but only as evincing my estimate of your superior Civic qualifications for the most important duties, and my great anxiety to secure them in that Department of the Government, which while during the war it must be admitted to be the most important, is of course to me the essential and most important one.

I trust therefore, you will at least pardon my presumption in submitting the proposition to you.

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE.

Atlanta, Sept. 9th, 1863.

My dear Wife:

I reached here on yesterday and have been constantly engaged, so much so, that I have not seen Milly though Mr. Glenn called to say they had a room for me. I shall move to their house to-day. The court has been ordered to suspend their sessions and I had hoped to have gone to Athens in the morning, and then returned to my command in Florida, but I have just received a dispatch fron Gen. Cooper at Richmond, ordering me to remain here and take command of the State Troops[1] raised by Gov. Brown. If the President had done his very best to place me in the most unpleasant position possible, he could not have succeeded better than by this order. I am placed under Gen. Bragg, and have to cooperate with Joe Brown about whom you know my opinions too well to repeat them. My duty requires me to submit without murmur or complaint, and I shall do it.

JOS. E. JOHNSTON TO HOWELL COBB

Dalton, Ga., Feb. 2nd, 1864.

My dear General:

I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 25th of Jan. in due time, and I thank you for it cordially. It is not possible to misunderstand your motives.

I have repeatedly suggested to the President the course you refer to, without going into details, however. Thinking that as the plan of operations involved the use of other troops as well as mine, and a new base of operations, my proper course, after a general suggestion, was to wait for an invitation from the President to explain my plan and propose the transfer of the forces necessary to give us reasonable hope of success. I have repeated that sugges-

1. Cobb was promoted to Major General on Sept. 9, 1863, and placed in Command 7th Georgia Nat. Troops.

tion several times, once since receiving your letter, but, apparently, without exciting my interest in his Excellency's mind.

I was surprised to learn that anybody is crazy enough to think of another invasion of the North. Should it be made it will ruin us. I fear, however that your Richmond correspondent expects too much in saying that "The whole effort of the spring will be directed to Tennessee." I fear a continuance of our old policy of distributing our forces.

The Federals, according to our scouts, have taken no troops from Middle Tennessee. I suppose, therefore, that as soon as Thomas is ready, he will save us the trouble of looking for him in Tennessee by marching into Georgia. Then, should we have been provided with the means of beating him and of marching, it would be agreeable to pursue him to the other side of the Cumberland Mountain and perhaps, not difficult.

I am sorry that you apologized for writing to me on so important a subject. I hope that you will continue to suggest to me. It would be as agreeable as advantageous to me.

We have observed your efforts with great interest and have great expectations from them. Could you not strengthen the army by pointing out to Georgians the worthlessness of new cavalry organizations, which are keeping them out of the infantry and which since Morgan's escape our people are running mad about.

JAMES A. NISBET TO HOWELL COBB

Sparta, Ga., Feb. 28, 1864.

Dear General:

Joe Brown has been here the guest of Linton Stephens and little Aleck likewise. The Legislature is to be convened in Special session, and Toombs, Stephens & Co., will no doubt put Joe Brown up to some factious issue with the Confederate Government. The point of attack will be the suspension of the Habeas Corpus. Yesterday, Bishop Pierce made a noble, patriotic speech in this place. Little Aleck

managed to have himself called out after the Bishop & made an insidious speech, full however of poison, & bile. I am sure, if not intimidated by a fore-stalling expression of public opinion, these men will seek to put Georgia in a hostile position to the Confederate Government at the approaching Session of the Legislature. Now it is a sad thing if Georgia is to be made to play such a role. Just as our skies are brightening and our Campaigns opening auspiciously mischief is being plotted. Your influence with the people is paramount and I notify you on time of what is going on that it may be exerted to prevent harm. I am sure it will be felt on the side of patriotism. Fortunately I do not think the Legislature can be swayed from its propriety.

A. B. LONGSTREET TO HOWELL COBB

Columbus, Ga., July 31st, 1864.

Dear General:

If Hood has not at least a month's provisions on hand, we are ruined, whether we conguer Sherman or not, unless the roads leading from Macon be kept open. How else is our army to be fed? Suppose the roads South and West of Macon now cut and we defeated; our army must perish. Where would they fall back to? Macon They would perish there. To Columbus? They would perish before reaching there. To Alabama via West Point would be the only retreat by which they could possibly subsist with the least hope of subsistence and that is a forlorn hope. In this event what becomes of Macon, Andersonville and all South West Georgia? -nay, all Georgia. Suppose we are victorious and take twenty thousand prisoners, what are we to do with them? How are we to feed them or even the guard of them? Suppose Sherman should surrender his whole army; How would we support it and our own two days? Where are the wounded to be sent, to avoid starvation? Suppose Sherman retreats, we cannot follow him. We cannot remain in Atlanta. Every soldier you send forth but increases the difficulties. Can you conceive of a more awful state of things?

And . . . .[1] they are almost certain. I see but one sure escape from them; and that is in keeping the road from Montgomery through this place open, stocking it with a thousand cars, and enlisting all the energies of Govs. Watts, Clark, Brown, and all other agencies, in hurrying on provisions to the army immediately. Let the road between here and Macon be strongly guarded through its whole length, and let all the provision cars be put upon it that can be mustered, and let all the provisions that can be got (without starving the prisoners) be put upon it and hurried to the army without a moments delay; or to points to meet on its retreat or both. Before this reaches you, you will hear that the Central R. R. is cut 30 miles below Macon, and the nearest bridges burnt. The Columbus road is postponed only because the Yankees knew that the breaks beyond Opelika cannot be repaired for weeks to come. May the Lord help us!

P. S. The Yanks may have saved Augusta by their damage to the Ga. R. R.

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE

Augusta, Ga., Jan. 19, 1865.

My dear Wife:

Pope and myself arrived here safely last night. I find the people depressed, disaffected and too many of them disloyal. . . . . .Everybody expects Augusta to be attacked and I think it will be, without the slightest hope of a successful defence. It may be a week or more before it takes place, as Sherman, when last heard from was at Pocataligo, and his course from that point has not yet been indicated. I think it will be towards Branchville and Augusta. . . . . I find Gen. D. H. Hill in command here, and cannot understand why I was ordered here. Surely not to put me under him. I have written to Richmond on the subject and cannot tell you how long I may be here until I get an answer. Of one thing I am quite certain, one or the other will leave and I

1. Corner of letter mouse-eaten.

have no objection to leaving myself. Whoever stays will have to abandon the place when Sherman comes and be well cursed for it. It would take an army to defend the place, and there are not troops enough here to make a respectable picket line around the City.

Tell Johnnie that I came across a pair of bellows to-day, which I bought at $200 and will send up to Madison in the care of Mr. Charles Campbell with instructions to deliver them to whoever he sends with the wagons. . . . . .

BRIG. GEN'L. A. W. REYNOLDS TO HOWELL COBB.

Athens, Geo., Jan 22, 1865.

General:

I have the honor to report that in compliance with your instructions I visited the region of N. E. Geo. on a tour of inspection. I went as far north as Dahlonega, where from the reports I had previously received, I expected to find an organized command under Col. Findley. In this, I regret to say, I was dissappointed. Col. Findley's command. if he had any, is scattered over the country as if quartered at home and it would be difficult to collect the men without considerable delay. I have directed Col. Findley, in case his command should be required for immediate service to concentrate all his men and at once obey the order issued from your Hd. Qrs., to rendezvous at some point in the vicinity of Atlanta.

Col. Findley claims to be a Brig. General, which rank however I can not acknowledge until officially informed thereof from your Hd. Qrs. Should he fail to act as directed, I would suggest his arrest.

I understand that Col. Rawlston has about five hundred men in Gilmer Co., Col. Ledger about the same number at Blairsville, Col. Simmons about four hundred in Hall Co., and Col. Baker a force in the upper counties near the Railroad. The last named officer appears to be doing good service and to be more efficent than the others.

Col. McCullum is at Canton and reports about one hundred men.

I regret to say, that a large number of men, comprising these organizations are within the conscript-age and absentees from other commands. I am satisfied that a majority of them have been induced to join these regiments under the promise, that they should not be disturbed and have the privilege of remaining at home.

These several commands are mostly unarmed. They should be made to assemble at some point where forage and provisions could be obtained. There, they should be organized, disciplined, armed and drilled and then suddenly sent to Gen. Hardee or Gen. Lee. By this means we might get a respectable force into the field. They ought not to be sent to Gen. Hood, because many of their old friends and neighbors serve in the ranks of Thomas' army and the facilities and inducements for desertion being greater, I have no doubt a majority of them would either leave or go over to the enemy.

I received a letter yesterday from Maj. Graham informing me that he was marching towards Ducktown with about four hundred men. He is acting in obedience to your orders. He will be joined beyond the mountains by Col. Baker. I think these two efficient and energetic young officers may effect something in the way of obtaining information: I only fear, that they may with their limited forces attempt too much.

I have directed the tax in kind to be gathered and stored, to be issued on proper requisitions to such troops a smay be entitled to receive rations and forage. I have quite a supply at Gainesville in charge of Capt. Harrison, who permit me to say, is one of the most energetic and active officers I have met with in the service. There will be in a short time a considerable supply of stores at Dahlonega. Owing to the negligence of the officers charged with the collection of the tax in kind, I have found in the District a greater quantity of forage and provisions than I expected.

My limited authority has prevented me from doing many things, which I considered beneficial to the Government.

In conclusion, I am gratified to say, that throughout my tour in N. E. Geo., I have seen no signs of disloyalty, but or the contrary, I have found the people full of hospitality and kindness. I am satisfied, that if they could be protected from the roving bands of deserters and thieves which infest the country, they would prove true and faithful friends.

THOS. M. GRIFFIN[1] TO LAMAR COBB[2]

Head Qurs. Post,

Newman, Ga., Feby 17, 1865.

Major,

I desire to call your attention to the condition of this section of country. In the counties of Carroll, Fayette and Campbell, there is a very great scarcity of corn, barely enough to bread [?] the people with the greatest economy. I am informed by the very best authority that in the County of Fayette, there are more than twenty distilleries in constant operation, and in Carroll there are nearly as many more, besides several in Campbell, all engaged in distilling corn and rye.

It is almost impossible to buy corn at any price in consequence of these distilleries consuming every surplus bushel of grain. In the Counties mentioned there are many deserters who are in the habit of frequenting those sinks of vice, and in places banding themselves together for the purpose of resisting the men engaged in collecting the absentees from the army. The same state of things exists in nearly every county in north western Georgia. I trust Major you will take steps to have these evils stopped. The remedy in my judgment is a rigid enforcement of the laws, and if they are not stringent enough, to make them so by additional legislation.

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1. Colonel Commanding post at Newnan
2. Acting Adj. Gen. on staff of his father, Maj. Gen. Howell Cobb, headquarters at Macon.

The General Assembly is now in session and it should at once put a stop to the distillation of grain. I know that hundreds of poor families are almost in a state of starvation, and unless aid is given them they must starve. Many of them are widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers have fallen in the defense of their country.

I know these things to be true, as poor, dependent women are every day begging me for assistance. They are willing to work if employment could be found, but in the present condition of the country there is but little demand for their labor. The country above this in many places that have been overrun by the enmey, now is entirely destitute of supplies, and many have no means to buy with.

I deem it my duty to apprise you of the situation of affairs in order that we may have your aid to remedy the evils complained of.

M. H. WRIGHT TO HOWELL COBB.

Head Qrs., Govt. Works. Ord:

Columbus, Ga., March 23d, 1865.

General:

I have been furnished with instructions for and placed in charge of the duties of running in Supplies for the Ordinance, Nitre and Mining and Medical Bureaux, from Havana and Nassau, to the Florida coast.

You are too familiar with the wants, and general condition of our Armies, and the supplies at hand, to render any special notice necessary from me to impress upon your mind the great importance of success in the undertaking, and I do not hesitate to call on you for aid, and acquaint you of the enterprise.

We have already arranged to transfer our supplies at Burmuda and other points, chiefly to Havana, to make them available to us by quick and short voyages to the Florida coast. And our agents abroad are now ready to respond to our call as soon as we may be prepared to make

it. Transportation from the landings to places of safety is almost effected, save the Trains. We propose to prepare for moving (75) Seventy five Tons at once in a single train.

Now what I desire to ask of you, is to aid us in securing the Arsenal at Chattahoochee from the Governor of Florida, for a Depot, there being many facilities for storage, shipping, etc., etc. Will you please then do me the favor to write to His Excellency, Governor Milton, such a letter as you may deem proper, and send it to me, that I may send it down, (with other papers showing my authority, Instructions etc.) and urge upon him to let us have it.

HOWELL COBB TO GEN. J. H. WILSON

Athens Ga., June 4th, 1865.

General:

On reaching Nashville I was, by direction of the President, released from arrest and ordered to my home at this place and directed on my arrival here to report to you, remaining in Georgia subject to the further orders of the President. I accordingly report to you, with the assurance that I shall promptly respond to any order or summons that I may receive and in the meantime shall strictly conform to my parole.

For this act of personal kindness and confidence I am indebted in a great measure to yourself. I beg to express to you and to President Johnson my thanks and appreciation of this manifestation of personal confidence and to give you the assurance that neither the President nor yourself shall have cause to regret the confidence that has thus been manifested.

If agreeable to you I should like to have a personal interview, not in reference to any matter personal to myself, but on matters of public interest and with that view will visit Macon at any time that may be indicated as convenient to you.

This communication will be delivered to you by my Son, Capt. Cobb, who will arrange for any answer reaching me, that you may desire to make.

JOHN A. COBB TO HOWELL COBB

Macon, Ga., July 10th, 1865.

Dear Father:

I came up on yesterday from Sumter and leave tomorrow for Baldwin and return here on my way to Sumter in about a week. The five hundred bushels of corn I had sold the Yankees at one dollar per bushel, they declined taking and I had to sell it to the Gov't. Contractor at eighty cents, losing twenty cts. on the bushel. I will have about two thousand bushels more corn for sale. I am offered seventy-five cents in greenbacks or fifty cts. in gold. I think I can get a little more. I think I can get 55¢ to 60¢ in gold for it delivered at the depot at Americus. Don't you think it would be best to sell it for gold. Greenbacks are going down every day. Gold is now worth forty per cent premium and there is no telling how high it will go.

Write me at once which to sell for gold or greenbacks. I think myself it will be better to take the gold. Blooms owes me about three hundred and fifty dollars on the cotton. I had one bale I did not sell him. I sold it in Americus at twenty-two cents. I will not make any contract about the corn until [I] hear from you. If you write as soon as you receive this, the letter will reach me by the time I return from Baldwin. . .

NATHAN BARWICK[1] TO HOWELL COBB.

Sumter County, Ga.
Aug. 20th, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I have but very little to write. It still remains very dry. Cotton is sorry in consequence of the drouth Peas sugar

1. An overseer on one of the Cobb plantations

cane and potatoes are sory We are all tolerable healthy I have not any cases of fever on the place I have some negroes lieing up pretending to be sick but I think its freedom sick and too lazy to work Samson has not done but little work since you was here and contracted with them he has a soar leg (and claims) that he is not able to do heavy work. I tried to make him shuck corn and make horse collars and he is not willing to do that He is very sasy and impudent If I was admitted to whip him I would know what to do with him There is a part of the negroes that works and behaves themselfs very well and A part of them is doing mity badly

W. C. DANIELL[1] TO HOWELL COBB

Athens, Ga., Oct. 3rd, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Calling last evening at your residence I learned of your departure the morning of that day for Washington. I suppose you will have important business of your own to attend to with which I would not interfere. But should you have or find leisure and opportunity occur to speak to the President in my behalf, you will greatly oblige me. I have manifested my confidence in the President's sense of Justice by calling his attention to his discriminations against the subordinates whilst he has generously allowed the greater offenders to go at large. More recently he has magnanimously pardoned Gov. Brown whilst the little fish (myself for instance) are held in durance, that is I am under bonds not to leave this state. My remnant of property left to me is in South Carolina and I cannot be allowed to return into possession without a pardon. My mills and settlement and negro quarters were all burned and if I may have the use of my property another year, it is time to be replacing some necessary buildings. For that purpose I must if possible borrow money, which I cannot in good

1. On the outbreak of the War a prosperous planter, whose summer home was in Cobb's Congressional District.

faith attempt until I am cer[tain] that I can use it. I have no further purpose or object in obtaining an early pardon than is connected with arrangements to provide for the dependent and helpness females of my family, who are homeless (my residence near Decatur having been burned) and helpless.

In all my life I never believed I was embarked in a better cause than the cause of the Confederate States. The fate of war has been against us. I submit to the decision with all the sincerity of an honest man, and am as sincerely a citizen again of the United States as Governor Brown and believe I am as justly entitled to pardon as he is, if he has not placed his merit upon the ground of Treachery to the cause he had sworn to support. I thank God I place my claim on no such ground. He has been enriched by the war, I have been impoverished by it. I ask my pardon on the simple ground that I intend to be faithful to the Government to which I sue for an early pardon that I may provide for those whom nature has made dependent on me. If the amount of loss sustained be any ground or atonement by which one may be said to have paid the Penalty, I have some claim on that score. But I place all my claim on the sincerity in which I renew my allegiance to the United States. I sent on my application for pardon on 14th June. Soon after I saw Gen. Thomas' Circular and conforming to that I made a new application from the Indian Springs about 15th August.

I suppose from what is said that there will sooner or later [be] a general amnesty for which I would cheerfully wait but for considerations already stated.

Should you find it convenient and acceptable to speak to the President on my behalf and succeed in obtaining my pardon please ask that it be forwarded to care of Phinizy and Clayton, Augusta.

I have been at your house this morning and learn that all are well.

HOWELL COBB TO MAJOR GENERAL J. B. STEEDMAN[1]

Athens Ga., Oct. 11, 1865.

General:

My application under President Johnson's Amnesty proclamation, has been forwarded to Washington during my absence. Desirous of having your endorsement and approval I address you this letter, with the request that you will forward to the President such recommendation on the subject as in your judgement is right and proper in the premises.

My case is briefly this. I was a secessionist, warm, earnest and decided, even violent and bitter. Entering the army at the commencement of the war, I served to its close and submitted only when our flag was struck down. I did all that an honorable man could do, to ensure success, nothing more. I thus state the case as strongly against myself as it can truthfully be made. I beg to say to you in the most emphatic manner that the imputation lately sought to be cast upon me, of unkindness to prisoners is both unjust and unfounded. I never spoke an unkind word, much less do an unkind act to a prisoner during the war, but on repeated occasions, I supplied their wants from my own means, such as clothing, feeding and furnishing them with money. If I have no other claim upon the President for his pardonable consideration of my application, I feel in my conscience that it would be due to me for my uniform kindness to prisoners, whenever the occasion occurred.

When Gen. Johnson surrendered, I looked upon the war as at an end, and since that time have counselled our peopeople to a submission to the results of the war, and cheerful comformity to the new state of things. You however are fully aware of my course and conduct in this respect and I need not elaborate it.

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1. From a draft in Cobb's handwriting found among the Erwin papers.

Badly wrecked, as you may know, in fortune by the results of the war, it is important not only to me, but to my family, that I should be restored as soon as possible to my status and rights as a citizen and hence I desire naturally to obtain as early and as favorable action in my case, as is consistent with the public interest.

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE

Macon, Ga., Oct 28th, 1865.

My dear Wife:

. . . .Judge Lockrane just from Washington, tells me that the President sent for him to consult about Georgia matters. He talked quite largely on the importance of the occasion and closed by saying that my name was the subject of a part of the conversation and that I might look confidently for a pardon.

The convention is getting on quite smoothly at Milledgeville. I understand that the race for Governor will be between that gentleman patriot and statesman, C. J. Jenkins[1], and Joe Brown. There can be no doubt about the result. . .

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE.

Macon, [Ga]. Nov. 5th, 1865.

My dear Wife:

. . . . .Our office is now in full blast, that is, we are ready to do business when it comes.[2] It is true none has as yet made its appearance. We have had several nibbles (as the fisherman would say), and I think it will not be many days before we shall have a large trout. The indications are very favorable, and I have no doubt we shall do a good business. From what Johnnie tells me the negroes in Sumter are yet undetermined what they will do. I am more and more hopeless everyday about the poor creatures doing well.

1. Governor of Georgia, 1865-1868.

2. General Cobb had formed a law partnership with Judge James Jackson and located in Macon.

Cotton is so high and the spirit of gain so rampant that people are wild in their notions about making cotton another year. It may work out better than I expect, I hope it will, but I am not willing to rely upon the work of freedmen for a support. If it comes, well and good. If not, let us be prepared to get our meat and bread some other way. So clients come along, we want your ready cash.

The convention is in an awful snarl over the war debt of the state.[1] A majority want to pay it, or a part of it but Marse Andy says, "Nary dime". What they will do, I can't say, though I rather think they will pass it bye and let the Legislature fight it out with the authorities in Washington. If this course is adopted, it is a virtual pledge that the debt will be paid. By a close vote, the convention has determined to sustain the College, and you may look for a resumption of the University next year. Everybody is for Judge Jenkins for governor. Joe Brown held out as long as he could, but the current was too strong for him and he went under. He has written a letter to Judge Jenkins pledging him his support. A feeble effort is being made to bring Stephens out against Jenkins. The Telegraph here has an article every morning for him, the work of one Judge Lockrane, but it won't do. Jenkins has the track and even Mr. Stephens can't jostle him.

. . . . . .

J. I. S. TO HOWELL COBB.

August 24th, 1865.

Respected Sir:

Your son, Major Cobb, delivered me your kind message a few days since. It is said that "Necessity knows no law," and I am very much in that situation. I am as perfectly helpless as an infant, hundreds of miles from home, and friends, without a cent of money, and in wretched health, so it is with the greatest difficulty I keep out of my bed.

I dislike very much to impose on your kindness and gen-

1. The Georgia State Convention of 1866, summoned to carry out the Presidential Reconstruction.

erosity, but I know your motives are the purest in the world, and are prompted by a noble and true Southern heart. You saw my helpless condition, and like the good Samaritan came to my relief. God will reward you for it.

I heard indirectly from home last week. The wretches are occupying my property in Norfolk and in North Carolina where I planted, they have burned every house on two plantations, stolen and destroyed all of my stock, farming implements, etc., and there is nothing left but the land. God only knows what they will do with that. I am entirely out of provisions; if you can spare me a little bacon, flour, sugar and lard, please do so, my family have had no wheat bread to eat for the past two months, only a few pounds will do me.

JOHN A. COBB TO HOWELL COBB

Americus, Ga., April 27, 1866.

Dear Father:

I received yours of the 23rd., inst. on my return from the plantation on yesterday evening, I sent the letter to Jesse Morgan to Mitch Morgan today, and requested him to send it to his brother at once as it was important that he should receive it as soon as possible. I did not know where he lived unless it is his brother that lives in Dooly.

Everything is getting on pretty well at the plantations. The negroes are doing very well except at the Jackson and Scrutchins places and there I think it is as much the fault of the overseers as the negroes. . Hudson and W. Barwick don't understand how to manage free negros, but the negroes on their places are doing better than I thought for, both of them make great complaints to me, but I think most of the trouble is in their imagination.

At Mounts, the negroes have pretty much their own way, but as they are a good set of negroes they do very well. He deserves no credit for it. He is now in Alabama, will be back next week. . . . .

JOS. E. JOHNSTON TO HOWELL COBB

New York, Oct. 8th, 1866.

My dear General,

. . . . .We learned with great satisfaction that you have been successful in planting, and have made a good crop of cotton. I never, however, apprehended that you would not be prosperous, as you have a capital in your head which confiscation can't reach, and which serves you now in the law, as well as it formerly did in politics and war. Would to heaven that it had had fuller control in the Confederacy.

We have not been able to establish ourselves yet. I was so unlucky as to commit myself to a new express company just before being offered the rail road in course of construction from Columbia to Augusta, which would have enabled us to live in Georgia, which we desired greatly. I have left the express business, and am now employed by a rail road company whose road is to run from Dalton to Selma. The time I have passed in that country has gone off very pleasantly, for every able bodied man has served with me somewhere, in Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee or Mississippi, and is perfectly confident that I know him as well as he does me, and that I remember all the occasions on which he may have observed me. I can not tell you how much pleasure such meetings give me. It is by God's Mercy that anything connected with recollections of that disastrous war can excite pleasurable feelings.

I came here to endeavor to raise money for an Alabama railroad, but find it impossible now, from the uncertainty of our political condition, which makes all northern capitalists distrust southern property as security. Next spring matters will, in that respect, probably be in better condition. Mrs. J. came with me to meet her brother Robert and his family, just arrived from Paris. She has not enjoyed her visit, however, having been sick ever since her arrival The last letter she received from Mrs. Cobb came just as we were betaking ourselves to flight from Columbia, and she replied from Charlotte, N. C. She joins me in cordial

regards to Mrs. Cobb and yourself, and all the younger members of the family.

REBEKAH B. SHUNK[1] TO MRS. HOWELL COBB

Wheatland, Pa., Nov. 6, 1866.

My dear Mrs. Cobb:

How long I have had it in my heart to write you, how many times I have even gone so far as to put your name at the head of a sheet of paper, I cannot now begin to say. But I do assure you that we have all thought and talked of you and dear Mr. Cobb many and many an hour since the sad parting in 1861, that we have wondered about your fortunes and hoped for your welfare, that I have promised Father and Mother a hundred times that I would write you. But my epistolary performances are less frequent than formerly as might be expected in the case of an elderly matron of grave cares. I have been sick much of the time and have also been much saddened by the ill health of Mr. Shunk.

York is our headquarters, but we have been away from there a great deal, spending several months at a time in Philadelphia, where for a while Mr. S. edited the "Age". This winter our house and Mother's have both been rented with the furniture—Mother going to Washington and we coming here to spend the winter (or most of it) with Mr. Buchanan, as Mr. S. is engaged on a literary work which he can prosecute better here than anywhere else, and Mr. Buchanan since Miss Lane has gone, is much pleased to have Company. He is now 76 years old, but hale, hearty, and erect as ever, has scarcely any signs of old age, hears and sees as sharply as he ever did, and enjoys fun and society as much as any person. He takes his long walk every day, receives a good many visitors, pays an occasional visit in Lancaster, goes on Sunday to the Presbyterian church, of which *he is a member,* reads the papers, and takes an in-

1. Daughter of Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney General in Buchanan's Cabinet.

terest in all that goes on. He is as fond as ever of teasing, as I realize every day.

This house is a dear old comfortable place. Jane is devoted to the country and enjoys running about the grounds or accompanying her father and me on our daily walks. Mr. Shunk who was ill all summer, is improving very much, and so we *hope* to have a pleasant winter. Yet I don't make plans any more or ever feel secure, for tho' my life has been exempt from what are considered great troubles I have seen enough of disappointment and trial to subdue my spirit in some degree.

Father has the house in which Capt. Maffit lived, just opposite Franklin Row on K. Street. It has been rented altered and is very handsomely furnished. He has rented it for six months. My eldest brother, Chauncey is in partership with Father: he, his wife and child live with them. My second brother is practicing law, or at least *renting an office,* in Uniontown, Pa. My eldest sister Mary is with Mother, and Nannie, the younger, is at a boarding school near Philadelphia. Father has been much absorbed in farming a place he *plays with* near York. It has been very beneficial to his health, but less so to his purse. He continues to buy property when it is high and sell when it is low, but his heart and hand are ever open—*none so good* as this dear father of mine.

Mother's health has been very bad, for a year she was a terrible sufferer and greatly changed in appearance, but she is better the past few months, much better. They have Mr. Clement C. Clay staying with them just now. I need not (I hope) tell you how we suffered with our Southern friends during the wicked war, how our hearts bled as we heard of their sorrows and privations, and how *none of us* ever said a word or did a deed which could in any way favor or help the vile cause of the abolition Yankee.

Mr. Shunk was mobbed very near the beginning of the war, we broke with many friends on account of politics. We felt political bonds to be the strongest on earth, for friendship and religion were trampled in the dust. *Our*

feeling and sympathies knew no change. We regretted and disapproved *secession,* but as a thing wrong in itself, but unwise and mistaken, but when once the ball began and we saw how it was carried on our hopes and wishes were all one way. We felt our position to be more unfortunate than any other, as we could act on neither one side or the other, and were condemned and misunderstood all around. However we had plenty of company. York is a splendid copperhead region. Indeed you people don't know the friends you have in the North and you do us great injustice. My great and only objection to my "Southern brethren" and I will add *sisters,* is that they are too hard on *all* Northern people, making no distinction, between a low mischevous Yankee and an honest decent person from Pennsylvania. They are too proud and intolerant, *generally,* but to this class I'm quite sure *you* and yours do not belong. I never for a moment supposed it, or my heart would not so often have traveled over land, rivers, and armies to your Southern home or have so *earnestly* prayed for your deliverance.

I am scribbling too much, forgetting myself—tho' Jane and Mr. S. have both been worrying me to quit ever since the first page. I hope I shall hear from you very soon and hear much that is pleasant of you. I want to know all about your children. Mrs. Ellis of Alabama has been visiting at this house. We were so much pleased with her.

With much love to Mr. Cobb, kindest remembrances from Mr. S. and Mr. Buchanan to both of you, I must now hastily sign myself, very sincerely.

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE

Macon, Ga. June 21, 1867

My dear Wife:

. . . . .A few minutes since and Johnnie called my attention to three carriages drawn up *in state* in front of the Lanier House. He says that the Mayor of Savannah is here in

charge of Genl. Pope[1] en route for Savannah, and that the city fathers of Macon are doing homage to the *"infallible"* by riding him and the Mayor of the city of Savannah around the city. How it sickens and saddens the heart to witness these scenes of humiliation. I thank God, that the good of my country does not require at my hands a participation in these propitiatory offerings to our taskmasters and oppressors. How long are we to endure these terrible trials?

I must mention to you briefly an interview which took place in Milledgeville last week between Genl. Sanford and Joe Brown, you must pardon the profanity. I tell it to you as it was told to me by *Genl. Sanford himself* Brown came up behind him and placed his hands familiarly upon his shoulder and said "Genl., how are you"? The Genl. replied, "Gov. Brown, you have obtruded yourself upon my notice, and compelled me to address you in plain and emphatic language, I regard you, sir, as an apostate to every profession of your life, and one of those G—d d—d scoundrels that would sell his country, his liberty, and his family to advance his own selfish ambition". But says Brown, "Genl., you will come to hear me speak tomorrow". "Come to hear you speak?" replied the Genl. "No, sir, I have sufficient evidence of your being a damned scoundrel, without hearing the confession from your own lips". Says Brown, "Genl. you are an old man". "Young enough," replied the Genl., "to be responsible for everything I have said to you", and there the interview ended by Brown's walking off. . . . . .

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE

Macon, Ga., June 24, 1867.

My dear Wife:

. . . . It has occurred to me, looking to the unsettled condition of the country, and the prospect of this portion of

1. Genl. John Pope, in command of the 3rd Military District, which included Georgia.

the American vineyard becoming uninhabitable to white people, that it would be a pleasant trip for you and I (taking Meyon[1] with us) to make a visit to Kentucky after Commencement, and hunt for a home. If we should have to go from Georgia I don't know where Southern people would find a better refuge than in Kentucky, where Southern sentiment still has control. I am not speaking of any immediate movement, but we could be looking out for the future. *Think of it.* . . . . . .

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE.

Augusta, Ga., Oct. 14, 1867.

My dear Wife:

After spending a week in the salubrious climate of Dooly county I reached Americus safe and sound. As I was detained the whole week in Dooly, I did not get to the plantations, but Johnnie met me here after spending three days on the plantation. He makes a very favorable report about the crops. We shall make very nearly as much cotton as we did last year, but alas! the difference in our income. What is to become of our people at present prices of cotton? "It is awful to think of and terrible to contemplate", as old Judge Underwood would say. Some idea may be formed of the effect upon the morals of the people, when I tell you that men who pledged their crops to their commission merchants for advances of corn and meat, are now secretly selling their cotton to other people, to get rid of their liabilities to the merchants who made the advances. . .

HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE

Macon, Ga., Sept. 7, 1867.

My dear Wife:

Fifty two years ago, I set out on the unprofitable pilgrimage, which finds me today struggling with the adversities

1. Miss Mary Anne Lamar Cobb, now Mrs. A. S. Erwin of Athens, Ga.

of life and more hopeless of the future than ever before. My good friend Judge Jackson has nearly consumed the morning in a learned lecture on the nothingness of all humanity, and the only lasting hope of the good man beyond the grave. And now I devote a few moments to you, whose enjoyment and happiness is the great object in life with me. To you I need not repeat the many true wise things, which the Judge has said, for you carry with you in your daily walk and life, the witness that testifies of the great and good spirit, that gives promise of another and better world. Be cheerful and happy, my dear wife, for you know not how much happiness is imparted to others, by your sweet smiles and cheerful face. For myself I can truly say, I desire only to live in the reflected happiness which I gather from your own happiness. It is to me the treasure of life; and may God in his infinite wisdom and goodness, long continue to your household this their greatest source of earthly enjoyment. . . . . .

JOHN A. COBB TO HOWELL COBB

Plantation, Jany. 31st. 1868

My dear Father;

I received your letter a few days ago. I will not be able to go to Macon before you return from Milledgeville first of week after next.

I have written to Hardeman and Sparks and sent a statement of cotton shipped so that they can compare it with their books, and see how much is missing. I will bring the receipts up when I come. I will write beforehand what time I will be there.

We have moved to the plantation and are getting very comfortably fixed. I went to a sale above Americus the other day and left Lucy and Wilson here two nights— the "school marm" from Barwick's staid with her.

We go up to town tomorrow to spend Sunday and I shall not return here before Tuesday evening or Wednesday morning, as the Liverpool Cotton Co's. sale takes place on

Tuesday, and I want to be at it. I think we will need some more mules. If I get some hands that have promised to come and whom I am anxious to get, I will need six or eight more and if we could get the same kind we got from Johnson, I would like to have them, but about this I will write you next week, if we get the hands. We now have 162 and if the others come we will have 170, which is just as many as I want, it will make Hudson who now has 22, to 25, and Culver who now has 25, to 30.

I sent you by Railroad this week a box of bones[1] and a barrel of lard. You had better send to the depot for it. I wanted to have bought more mules at the sale the other day, but they went too high, indifferent mules in bad order sold for from $120 to $150, cash.

J. B. Ross and Son have written me several times about their bill, there is a balance of $587.77 due them. I have written them that it would be paid just as soon as we got a return of the sale of our cotton. . . . . .

I will send the last nine bales of our crop forward next week.

Our last year's crop is as follows:—

Bivins Place ———	"Bridges"	181 bales
Domine Place ———	"Barwick"	171 "
Spring Creek Place——	"Matt"	115 "
" " "	"Morris"	78 "
Jackson Place		116 "
Total on four places		661 "
Our share of the Scrutchins place		27 "
		688 "
To Barwick and Employees		14 "
Entire crop on five places		702 "

If I buy anything at the Liverpool sale, I will write you before I leave Americus.

1. i. e., fresh pork.

Tell Mother, we will be fixed up comfortably by the time I come to Macon and we would like for her to return with me and pay us a visit at our *country home*. I think the trip and change would do her good. Wilson runs pretty wild out here, and she will think more than ever that he needs training at her hands.

If you have not traded the gray mare off, suppose you send her back for me to use her in the plough. I am going to break some colts of Lamar's[1] and mine and plough them to help out, there are four that can be ploughed this summer, and not hurt them, they will be the same age the gray mare was when I commenced to plough her.

P. S. We have had such bad weather that there has been little or nothing done on the plantations yet. All hands will get regularly to work ploughing next week if the weather is good. We had a pretty heavy snow for this part of the world the other day. Wednesday, the thermometer in the house was 22 and outdoors 18, that is as cold as it was ever known here, it is pretty cold yet, but nothing like the above.

L. O. WASHINGTON[2] TO HOWELL COBB

Washington, D. C., June 21, 1868.

My Dear Sir:

I duly received your letter of June 5th., and the article it enclosed both of which I read with interest. I suppose you will readily accept as one excuse for delay in reply that I have been making a hard fight for your people who are in prison and the jaws of the military. I have been not merely writting in our papers but have also managed to induce nearly all the Radical correspondents here to be *neutral* or help us, and besides this I have done no light amount of work every day.

I think the Chase movement has done us a good deal of

1. Maj. Lamar Cobb, son of Howell Cobb.
2. Editor of *The Intelligencer*.

harm. The N. Y. *World* has gone into it and come out for negro suffrage and accepting the state organizations in the South as finalities. Now, they drop Chase but stick to their heresies. The Chase men have money, are ready to use it; but I don't think they can do much. The movement has irritated many sound men, and led them to favor Pendleton as the best way to crush it.

I am afraid to enter the race without a military man to offset Grant. We may need to have one. There will be a good deal of Buncombe about Grant's war record and we must offset it, equal them on that point, and beat them on the other. Hence, I go for Hancock, or Blair, or McClellan. If a civilian be taken up perhaps Hendricks would be most available. Location good too.

Johnson's name will be presented and I do not see how our Southern delegates can refuse him a *complimentary* vote. He has been our friend and we must not appear ungrateful. His continued friendship up to the 4th. of March is very essential to us. Virginia and Georgia will both require his action to help us out of scrapes.

I think there are two great issues on which we can rally the Northern masses and *win* if our candidates and platform give reasonable assurance that they will be attended. 1. "A white man's government," the most popular rallying cry we can have.

2. *Reform* in the Executive Dept., Congress, and State Legislatures, retrenchment and reduced taxation. Extirpation of corruption, etc.

We must be able to promise these things. I dont think with a platform or candidate dubious about *negro suffrage* we can touch bottom. We will have a bolt if we dodge the issue, and it will lose us the election. But I think the Convention will manage wisely and I am willing to trust them. I hope to see you in New York.

JAMES JACKSON TO MRS. HOWELL COBB

Macon, Feby. 22, 1869.

My dear Cousin:

Often since the death of Cousin Howell,[1] my heart has said to me, "write to Cousin Mary Ann", yet as often the reply of my judgement has been "You were with her in the first great outpouring of her grief, you met her at Union Point, what good can be done by writing". Yet now, feeling it to be my duty to write to you, my dear cousin, on another subject I must say a word about him who was the best friend and the noblest specimen of our fallen humanity I have ever known.

On one subject, and one only, he talked to me as he did not talk to you, and his silence upon it to you is but one other proof of his devotion to you. That subject was the doubt that long harassed him about the Divinity of our Savior. He often told me that he would not for worlds jostle your faith nor have his children for one moment doubt his entire faith in all the scriptures of God. He knew your devotion to him, your confidence in his judgement, your faith in his integrity, and he was fearful lest he might be the means of insinuating his own doubts into your mind. Besides, he told me he knew how miserable it would make you to think that he entertained those doubts, and to spare you this unhappiness, his lips were sealed upon the subject while in your presence. He has often told me that he would give anything for your faith and trust in Christ, as God in the flesh, and your confidence in our blessed Lord; and the illustration of that confidence which he saw so constantly and unobtrusively exhibited by you in the home circle told powerfully upon his strong intellect, and was greatly instrumental in working out the happy result of his conversion and preparation for death. My dear cousin, I write what I know, for he was, as it were, twin brother to me, and opened his whole heart to me. Another

1. Cobb died suddenly, October 9, 1868, while on a visit to New York.

reason of his silence upon this subject in the home circle was his fear that some of his dear children might imbibe his opinions and be led into the labyrinth of uncertainty which so much perplexed and annoyed him. Another proof of that firmness of purpose and self denial, which so much distinguished him, especially when in bearing the burden alone, he felt that he was lifting it from the shoulders of those he loved most. . . . . .

BOOK REVIEWS

New Viewpoints in American History. By Arthur Meier Schlesinger. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922. XIV, 299 pp.)

Progress is said to be the law of life; and this should be no less true in the profession or occupation than in the physical body. New inventions and discoveries have proclaimed the advancement of the sciences; the more prosaic business of ferreting out and interpreting the past has had no press agent. But nevertheless, the leaven of honest and reasoning inquiry has been working, and some of the new discoveries made by the historians for the past quarter century are here set forth in this book under review. True enough these discoveries are not to be seen so much in the technique or methods of research or writing history, as in the new points of view that have been evolved. Influences that have played important parts in our past have long remained unnoted and apparently unknown. It has been only in the present generation that the importance of the West in our history has come to be generally appreciated. But the spirit of research among the present historians bids fair to leave no stone unturned in the guest for those elements which must be judiciously combined in their proper proportions, if our past as well as our present is to be truly interpreted.

The author of *New Viewpoints in American History* has viewed the work of the many investigators and with skill put together their findings and interpreted them for those, who have not had the time or inclination to read the many monographic contributions. Such subjects as the influence of immigration, geographic factors, chapters. Among the and women are treated in separate chapters. Among the other topics are: The Decline of Aristocracy in America; Radicalism and Conservatism in American History; The

American Revolution; The State Rights Fetish; The Foundations of the Modern Era; and the Riddle of the Parties.

Honest doubts there might be concerning the relative importance of different factors; but none can there be concerning the proposition that all of these are at least important. Some viewpoints that have not yet been sufficiently developed will undoubtedly be eventually recognized as being as important as many others.

One who has kept abreast of the times in historical developments is not very likely to disagree with the main contentions of this book, although one may not likely agree with every statement. Professor Schlesinger has performed a real service in bringing together and making a synthesis in one volume of these new and refreshing viewpoints.

E. M. C.

Chronicles of Chicora Wood. By Elizabeth W. Allston Pringle. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922. IX, 366 pp. $3.00.)

This is a delightfully written book, recounting the experience of the author, a lady of the Old Regime in the South. The daughter of an ante-bellum governor of South Carolina, she saw the beautiful side of Southern society before the Civil War and here portrays it in a most engaging way in her light reminiscences. The glory that was once Charleston's is made to live again: the stately homes along the Battery; the wealthy and cultured families, whose social connections extended north as far as Newport, and whose education was likely to be finished in Paris or Heidelberg; gay parties and gorgeous dresses. Charleston owed much of its prosperity at this time to the rice district for which it was an outlet; indeed, many of the families that made Charleston the city that it was, were rice planters. The method of cultivating the land and the economy of the large rice plantation, with its many slaves and its flatboats on the sluggish river, are described.

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The blighting effects of war and reconstruction are briefly but intimately and vividly set forth. The silver and whatever else that could be gathered up were hurriedly buried, on the news that Sherman was approaching. Horses were driven by faithful slaves into the swamps and the inaccessible places. The pestilence passed and left in its track carcasses of cattle and swine, the result of unbridled and wanton destructivness; the once luxurious homes in ashes or with their windows and doors smashed out and the furniture broken up; poverty-stricken and frightened people, who had the day before known no want, and what was even a greater calamity, a sullen and suspicious disposition in the erstwhile slaves, their minds poisoned by the invader.

As a picture of a very restricted side of the ante-bellum South, the book is delightfully true—and this is all that it purports to be. But, of course, as a true picture of the whole Southern fabric it is entirely inadequate.

E. M.C.

A History of Rome and Floyd County, Georgia. By George Magruder Battey, Jr., (Atlanta: The Webb and Vary Company 1922, pp. 640.)

This volume which includes "numerous incidents of more than local interest" covers the period from 1540 to 1922. The author begins with the legend of De Soto's visit in 1540, and traces the history of this section of the State through the period of Indian occupation and removal and the later periods of the close of the Civil War. Since Rome is located in the northern section of Georgia and therefore in the very heart of the Cherokee country it is very proper that some attention should be devoted in the early chapters to the Cherokees. There was an important meeting of the Cherokees at Rome when the question of the removal of these Indians from the State was being agitated at which time, John Ross, the principal chief of the Cherokees spoke.

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cussed at some length. The part taken by Rome and Floyd County in the Civil War is given considerable attention.

The latter half of the book is devoted to a miscellaneous collection of anecdotes reminiscences, encyclopedia of Rome and Floyd County, items from the press regarding Rome and Floyd County, poetry and the cemetery records.

The author has undoubtedly devoted much time to collecting the information which he has compressed into this volume. This review can only contain a brief mention of certain of the more important things to be found there.

The illustrations are very numerous and refer to a variety of persons, incidents, events and places.

The hope is expressed that the service thus rendered by the author may indicate to others in every county of the State that a similar service might be rendered.

P. S. F.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At a recent meeting the curators of the Georgia Historical Society, Major Wm. W. Gordon, of Savannah, was elected to the presidency of the Society. The managing editor of the Georgia Historical Quarterly desires to congratulate the Society upon its good fortune in securing the services of Major Gordon.

The following comment appeared in the Savannah Press of Dec. 22, 1922.

"The election of Mr. W. W. Gordon to the presidency of the Georgia Historical Society means much for that organization. Mr. Gordon is an enthusiast about libraries. He has worked in libraries in New York, Washington, and in the British Museum. He is convinced that the splendid storehouse of historical and valuable volumes in this city should be made available to the people, and speaks confidently of making the library on Gaston street really an addendum to the Public Library on Bull street.

"The Georgia Historical Society not only publishes a quarterly review, assembling valuable papers and preserving useful information, but houses in its collection old and valuable publications which are not always appreciated or enjoyed by the people. There cannot be too many libraries in Savannah, and the Historical Society is really more convenient to the business part of town than the Public Library in the southern part of the city.

"Mr. Gordon, not only as a director of the Public Library but as president of the Georgia Historical Society, is able to develop his ideas about making the latter an auxiliary and annex of the circulating library on thirty-sixth street. In the circumstances no better selection could have been made. He will occupy the place of president, not as an empty honor, but as a real working factor, and we are convinced that he will develop the important possessions

of the Georgia Historical Society as a real asset to Savannah and to the State.

"Hodgson Hall, the home of the Georgia Historical Society on Gaston and Whitaker streets, will be opened for use as a branch of the Public Library, according to Major W. W. Gordon, president of the Georgia Historical Society and member of the Public Library board.

"The large hall of the Historical Society is not being used by the public even though the need of a public reading hall is felt in this populated residence section,' said Major Gordon. 'By having a branch of the library we could open the large hall and serve the people of this section by putting them in contact with the books and periodicals of the large library.'

"The library of the Georgia Historical Society will also be open to the public.

"By opening two such sub-stations in the city the Public Library has already served a larger public and the opening of Hodgson Hall addition is hailed with interest. One sub-station already opened is in the Y. M. C. A. building and the other is on Waters avenue.

"The scope of a resolution to be presented at the library board meeting this evening is that a direct messenger service be maintained between the Public Library and the branch libraries thus insuring prompt service.

"According to the authorities of the Georgia State Historical SocietyHodgson Hall has always been accessible. The public has not shown interest and with the opening of the branch it is hoped that it will attract the reading public that will avail themselves of the advantages offered."

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